The Thesis Committee for Kathryn Elizabeth Farkas
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

A Quest for Uplift:
Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor: _____

Paul E. Bolin

_____

Christopher Adejumo

A Quest for Uplift:
Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute

by

Kathryn Elizabeth Farkas, B.A.

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Dedication

For anyone who has ever aspired to be or do something they were told they could not.

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I would like to thank my family for their continued love and support.

Abstract

A Quest for Uplift:
Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute

Kathryn Elizabeth Farkas, MA

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Supervisor: Paul E. Bolin

This study investigated the life and arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Framed around her life, 1883-1961, this study concentrated on the years, 1901-1961, when she built and ran the Palmer Memorial Institute.

An examination into Dr. Brown's early life and artistic influences highlighted the roles of her family and school in her development of appreciation for and aptitudes in the arts. Evidence of arts programs offered at the Palmer Memorial Institute included school catalogs and programs, state reports, student and teacher testimonies, and photographs.

Dr. Brown's role as an arts educator beyond the Palmer Memorial Institute, including her civil rights speeches and her struggles to obtain financial and social support for developing arts programming, added to this analysis. This study concluded with my argument that Charlotte Hawkins Brown should be considered as an arts educator and presents a number of possibilities for future research into arts education at Palmer Memorial Institute and other related areas of Dr. Brown's life.

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Chapter 1: *Introduction to the Study*

This thesis aimed to investigate historic events and interpret materials from the past in order to construct a narrative involving arts education in the career of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Born in 1883 and educated in Boston in the last decade of the 19th century, Dr. Brown made a name for herself in the field of education and fundraising through her pioneering work at Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI).

As a child, art was a part of Charlotte's everyday life. Her mother was attentive and purposeful of the Hawkins' home decor. In addition to her home education in the arts, Charlotte attended the Cambridge English High School where her crayon portraiture abilities were extolled (Brown, nda). Upon finishing her schooling in Boston, Charlotte journeyed to her home state of North Carolina where she taught in a one-room schoolhouse run by the American Missionary Association (AMA).

In 1901, when the AMA resolved to shut down the school, Brown reopened it as Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI). Through great skill, tact, and will, Charlotte Hawkins Brown turned the one room schoolhouse into a prestigious preparatory school for children of the African American elite. Through research into this influential individual in educational history, I aimed to show that in addition to her many accomplishments she also directed one of the first African American schools in the South to not only include the arts into more approved curriculum, but also to institute a formal fine arts program. Her accomplishments in arts education are valuable to recognize.

In order to move forward providing support for my argument that Dr. Brown was an arts educator, it is important to define what falls under the title of arts education. Many facets form arts education: theatre, dance, music, visual arts, visual and material culture, and arguably, even more. While consideration of the arts could be expanded to include

poetry and literary arts, for the purposes of this study I am excluding this genre. In this thesis, I speculate and support a position that by including a variety of art forms such as choir, drama, visual arts, and an appreciation for aesthetics into the culture of Palmer Memorial Institute, Charlotte Hawkins Brown should be considered an important arts

educator who needs consideration and remembrance today.

Figure 1: Charlotte Hawkins Brown, c. 1905, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION

The following question motivated and directed this research: Given that as a young girl, African American educator Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1883-1961), had a proclivity toward art–specifically, portraiture, piano and singing–what roles did the arts play in the education and community building practices she designed and implemented at the Palmer Memorial Institute? How did Dr. Brown overcome obstacles set before her in order to provide students and the community with arts education in their everyday lives?

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Historically and currently, art education lacks a diverse representation of voices. In the past, texts primarily have represented perspectives from Anglo-American men. This narrow focus within the field has censored important and much needed voices of women, African American, Asian American, Native American, and other minority populations, entrenching their marginalized statuses and silencing their stories (Acuff, Hirak, & Nangah, 2012; Acuff, 2013). This rather exclusive transcription of art education history has presented a picture of the great white men who have propelled the development of the field through events such as Froebel's kindergarten movement, the Massachusetts Drawing Act of 1870, Walter Smith's (1873) art education textbook, and Dewey's (1896) establishment of the Laboratory School at The University of Chicago. Acuff, Hirak, and Nangah (2012) ask an important and pertinent question: "…what were the historical art education experiences of people of color" (p. 7)?

In order for us to engage in meaningful dialogue about the state of art education today, we need to secure a broader understanding of where the field has come. Who were those individuals and groups in the past—many who have been overlooked—who have contributed to our field today? What have they contributed to art education? Why have their voices not been heard? We must ask questions such as these, and as the world

changes reassess our values and histories. Too often, we accept history as being written by and about those who had the means and power to document their stories and pass them down to us. It is an easy excuse to say that minority voices have not been represented in historical accounts of art education because they did not have access to arts education at the periods under question. However, this is an inaccurate and misguided interpretation of the past. The experiences of all groups who experienced art education should be studied, not just those that are easily accessible, were admitted into formal schools, or wrote legislation (Acuff, 2013). Historians and researchers must uncover their stories from the past and help give voice to these overlooked contributors to the history of arts education.

Recently, research and narratives in art education are beginning to change. The conference, Brushes with History: Imagination and Innovation in Art Education History, held at Teachers College, Columbia University in the autumn of 2015, sought to highlight those narratives that have until now gone either overshadowed or untold. Through this thesis, my purpose is to contribute to this small but growing body of literature that illuminates experiences, hardships, and accomplishments of important diverse voices in art education.

MOTIVATIONS FOR STUDY

I became interested in researching the life and career of Charlotte Hawkins Brown after reading Wadelington and Knapp's (1999) biography, *Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute: What One Young African American Woman Could Do*. The book chronicles Brown's early life and long career as the founder, principal, and main fundraiser for the Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI), a preparatory school for African Americans in the backwoods of Guilford County, North Carolina. In the biography, I was struck by the contrast between her desire to incorporate more arts into the curriculum at

PMI and her donors' beliefs that industrial and domestic skills were sufficient education for African Americans. In the same paragraph, Wadelington and Knapp note that while Brown outwardly appeared to agree with her benefactors, she proceeded to add arts programming into the school life (Fairclough, 2001). I was curious to learn more. What kinds of arts programming did she include? How did she embrace the arts in the instruction while still appeasing funders of the Institute?

This research draws on the work of other art educators such as Bolin, Blandy, and Congdon (2000, 2001), who compiled stories of diverse voices that have historically been overlooked in art education in *Remembering Others: Making Invisible Histories of Art Education Visible* and *Histories of Community-Based Art Education*. Similarly to the individuals and organizations portrayed in this work, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, for a variety of reasons, has gone unnoticed for her contributions to art education. I was interested in capturing a glimpse into the story of a previously unseen art educator, who likely has been overlooked because of her status as both a woman and an African American. In conducting this historical research, I have begun to better understand the longstanding inequalities in education, particularly in art education, which have led the field of art education to overlook many influential art educators and their students.

I have always been interested in stories, particularly ones about people and places that felt far away and new. As an undergraduate, I obtained my degree in English Literature. It reasons that my interest in narratives would propel me toward historic research because history is essentially story. History aims to interpret the past through investigation and, according to Bolin (2009), grounded speculation and historical imagination. In "Imagination and Speculation as Historical Impulse: Engaging Uncertainties within Art Education History and Historiography," Bolin (2009) challenges researchers "to explore the past and read about historical matters of our field in new and

adventuresome ways, thus demonstrating the beneficial roles imagination and grounded speculation may play in generating much needed historical inquiry and discussion in art education" (p. 121). I was interested in taking on this challenge through my historical research into the life and career of Charlotte Hawkins Brown.

RESEARCH METHODS

Because Dr. Brown's story is firmly rooted in the past, I approached this thesis primarily through a methodology of historical research. Historical methodology in any field focuses on the discovery, interpretation, and presentation of past events. In this thesis, I set out to uncover previously unknown information about Dr. Brown's life and career that show her accomplishments as an art educator. In doing so, I also sought to better understand the present culture of art education and why certain people and events have received attention, while others have not.

I examined a considerable amount of material from archives and other historical documentation. My data collection methods included primary source documents such as those written by Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and letters of correspondence between Brown and her financial donors. It included secondary sources such as works written about Brown and PMI from the early 1900s through the present. Because I examined examples of the arts, which are visual in nature, I have included analysis of any documents that might pertain to arts education at PMI. Examples of such documents are programs, photographs, scrapbooks, and yearbooks that illustrate the presence of the arts as a part of student life. Discussions and examples of these items are included throughout the thesis. A more thorough and complete discussion of methodology related to this study is found in Chapter 3.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are useful in understanding my discussion of the research.

- **Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI)**: Originally a one-room schoolhouse, Charlotte Hawkins Brown founded this school in North Carolina in 1901. The school was named for Alice Freeman Palmer, Dr. Brown's mentor and benefactor. By the time PMI closed its doors in 1971, it had become a finishing school for students of elite Black families.
- **American Missionary Association (AMA)**: Founded in 1861, the abolitionist protestant group's main goals were to promote Christian values, abolish slavery, and educate African Americans.
- **Bethany Institute**: An AMA mission school set inside a church in Sedalia, North Carolina. Charlotte Hawkins Brown moved to North Carolina to teach at the institute in 1901. The AMA closed the school in 1902.
- **Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site**: The first state historic site to honor North Carolina's African American heritage. Founded in 1987, the restored PMI campus provides the surrounding community with an education setting to learn about themes related to African American and women's history. The site additionally has a small archival collection of materials related to Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute.
- **Domestic Arts**: A subject historically studied by girls and women that included sewing, cooking, table-setting, cleaning, and other skills required for maintaining a home.
- **Industrial Arts**: A subject that required learning the fabrication of objects using hand or machine tools. Automobile repair, engine maintenance, and technical drawing or drafting all fell under the umbrella of industrial arts.

- **Jim Crow**: More than a system of laws and legislation designed to enforce racial segregation, Jim Crow functioned as a racial caste system, especially, but not only in the Southern United States from the Reconstruction period until the late 1960s.
- **Racial Uplift Ideology**: A movement began by African Americans in the late 19th century to develop independent institutions and practices that would enable people of color to improve their respectability and position in society.
- **Sedalia**: A town in Guilford County, North Carolina located about eleven miles east of Greensboro. Sedalia became home to Charlotte Hawkins Brown in 1901 and PMI in 1902.
- **Spirituals**: a distinct genre of music, originally created by African American slaves, which conveyed Christian values while expressing hardships. Later the genre became known for harmonized choral arrangements.

Figure 2: Panorama of Palmer Memorial Institute grounds, ca. 1913, Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

With regard to narrowing a research topic, Butchart, in his 1986 book, *Local Schools: Exploring their History*, outlines three types of limitations: topical, chronological, and spatial. Considering these three limitations expressed by Butchart (1986), I narrowed my topic such that this is not a biography of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, but is, rather, an examination of the role the arts played in her teaching and community building practices. Chronologically, I restricted its research scope to documents and sources that concentrated on the span of her lifetime, 1883 to 1961. Spatially, I limited the parameters my research to include her education in Massachusetts and work at the Palmer Memorial Institute in Sedalia, North Carolina. Further, most of the primary source materials used in this study were secured from the Radcliffe Institute's Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, and the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site in Sedalia, North Carolina.

BENEFITS TO THE FIELD OF ART EDUCATION

With this investigation, I hope to expand the body of current research that gives voice to overlooked and marginalized voices in arts education. Because arts education is a constantly changing and expanding field, it is important to uncover its many divergent histories. I have presented a new context regarding an individual—Charlotte Hawkins Brown—and organization—Palmer Memorial Institute—that have been recognized in the history of education, but not yet within the field of arts education. This is a noteworthy contribution, which I hope reveals new information within the history of art education and also acts to encourage other similar research in the future.

CONCLUSION

In this initial chapter, I presented an introduction to my study, my central research question, problem statement, motivations for this research, research methods, a set of definition of terms, limitations to this study, and benefits of the research to art education. The remaining five chapters frame, contextualize, and conclude my thesis. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature relevant to Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute, the history of art education, and historical research, especially as it pertains to art education and archival research. Chapter 3 overviews the historical and archival research methodologies used to complete this study. Additionally, this chapter sketches the story of my research and visit to the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site. Chapter 4 focuses on Charlotte Hawkins Brown's life and career in education. Chapter 5 examines Brown's accomplishments in including the arts in her educational and community building practices. I reviewed the data I was able to collect through primary and secondary sources as well as more image-based documents. In doing so, I looked at both the impact Charlotte Hawkins Brown had on her own time, and examined influences she made beyond her own career and circumstances. I evaluated the data I collected, and then, speculated, imagined, and determined the implications of this for the field of art education. The sixth and final chapter is a reflection of Brown's life and contribution to arts education at the Palmer Memorial Institute and her wider community at that time.

Chapter 2: *Review of Pertinent Literature*

To demonstrate the arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, it is necessary to understand her own writing, texts written about her, as well as a broader historical context of African American education and arts. This chapter explores the literature about Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute, and a broader context of African American education in the age of Jim Crow. In the second part of this chapter, I discuss gaps in art education historiography that this thesis addresses. This chapter includes eight sections: Charlotte Hawkins Brown, the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute, Art Education History, Historical Research and Local History, Historical Research in Art Education, African Americans in Art, Black Studies in Education, and Overlooked Voices in Art Education.

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN

Charlotte Hawkins Brown left behind excerpts of her unfinished autobiography in which she chronicles her early life and mentions important recollections such as, "I had an insatiable thirst for art and at a very early age began to spend my money for pictures for my room" (nda, p. 13). Art was a part of her everyday life. In her autobiographical writings, Brown recounts how her mother was conscientious and deliberate in choosing the Hawkins' home decor, even citing her mother as her first art instructor. In addition to her home education in the arts, Charlotte attended the Cambridge English High School, where she excelled at creating portraits with crayons (Brown, nda). Upon finishing her education in Boston, Charlotte journeyed to her home state of North Carolina, where she taught in a one-room schoolhouse, called the Bethany Institute, run by the American Missionary Association (AMA).

In 1901, when the AMA resolved to shut the school, Brown reopened it in an old Blacksmith's shop as the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI). Through great skill, tact, and will, Charlotte Brown turned the one room schoolhouse into a prestigious preparatory school for children of the growing African American elite (Saunders, 1930; Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). In Wadelington and Knapp's (1999) biography, *Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute: What One Young African American Woman Could Do*, I was struck by the contrast between Brown's desire to incorporate more arts into the curriculum at PMI, and her donors' beliefs that industrial and domestic skills were sufficient education for African Americans. In the same paragraph, Wadelington and Knapp (1999) note that while Brown outwardly appeared to agree with her benefactors, she proceeded to add arts programming into the school life. I was curious to learn more. What kinds of arts programming did she include? How did she include arts in the instruction while still appeasing funders?

Charlotte Hawkins Brown, like most teachers of her day, worked far beyond just the classroom. She was also a leader in the local Sedalia community and national communities, such as the National Association of Colored Women. In addition to her autobiography, Dr. Brown authored and presented a number of speeches, which she delivered at notable institutions around the country. She also wrote two books, *Mammy: An Appeal to the Heart of the South* (1919), a plea to the white people of the American South to help African Americans rise up from their current conditions, and *The Correct Thing to Do--to Say--to Wear* (1941), a guide to educate African Americans about the correct behavior to use as a productive member of society. Both these works were republished in the series *African-American Women Writers, 1910-1940*. This compilation of works by African American authors aimed to highlight talented writers, who would otherwise go unknown and make rare texts available to a wider audience. Brown wrote

Mammy: An Appeal to the Heart of the South (1919) after Galen Stone, one of her most generous and substantial donors, challenged her to find more Southern donors for PMI (Denard, 1995). Written from the intimate viewpoint of a Black slave woman, the eighteen-page fictional story criticized the White South without insulting, calling on White southerners to consider the debt owed to Black people for the free labor received during and after slavery. The book was successful in Brown's intent, and four southerners joined the Board of Trustees in 1920 (Denard, 1995). In the following years, support from southern donors continued to increase substantially.

Her second book, *The Correct Thing to Do—to Say—to Wear* (1941), started with her experiences at PMI and was written to reach a wider audience and to help uplift Blacks themselves. It was a continuum of her goals at PMI, which as Denard (1995) writes, "from the early 1900s to early 1930s, the educational program at Palmer was largely based on the theory of vocational and industrial education set forth by Booker T. Washington, but Palmer graduates also had a strong sense of personal decorum and appreciation for the arts" (p. xxvi). *The Correct Thing* offers advice on the ins and outs of social habits: everything from the proper way to eat pickles to movie-going etiquette and how to best send a telegram.

Ever since Brown began to make a name for herself in education circles, authors have been publishing work about her and PMI. As early as 1930, smaller publications such as *The Women's Missionary Magazine of the United Presbyterian Church* commended Brown and her efforts. In the 1940s, Ceci Jenkins, Dr. Brown's long-time administrative assistant, wrote "The Twig Bender of Sedalia," a biographical manuscript about Charlotte Hawkins Brown. This manuscript is particularly interesting because it presents one of the few less polished accounts of Dr. Brown. It acknowledges Dr. Brown as a person with an exceptional amount of energy and determination, but who sometimes

lacked empathy for those less driven than herself. Jenkins (ca. 1946) presents Brown as an individual who could face great obstacles with poise and grace, but who could also become enraged over minor mistakes. More recently, Wadelington and Knapp (1999) published a detailed biography, *Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute: What One Young African American Woman Could Do*. While these writers focused on her prowess for raising funds and keeping the school open in the face of adversity, there is mention of her early interest in the arts and her continued efforts to include more arts programing despite objections from the school board and donors. These works supplemented Brown's own writings and helped me ground and support my historical speculations regarding her involvement in the arts.

In the 1996 book *Gender and Jim Crow*, Gilmore argues that much of what Charlotte Hawkins Brown publicly put forth as biographical information was instead a skillfully crafted narrative with a shrewd social and political agenda. In her autobiographical writings, Dr. Brown used her family slave history to create an image of shared kinship between Whites and Blacks, one of Whites as protectors of their Black relatives. At first glance, it seems Dr. Brown lived a fortunate life relatively free from the segregation and discrimination of Jim Crow America, but examining the facts of her life and the stories put forth into the world one can see that she painted a rosier picture than she found in reality. As a politically savvy fundraiser and educator, her story was well calculated and served multiple purposes. The first purpose was to assuage Whites of guilt over their slave-owning past and to illustrate "that even slaves and masters achieved interracial understanding" (Gilmore, 1996, pp. 182-183). This fictionalized history of her family's slave history ultimately helped her successfully raise funds from White donors for her school. Gilmore (1996) asserts, "Charlotte Hawkins Brown created a fictional mirror of civility in race relations and held it up to whites as a reflection of their better

selves" (p. 185). Gilmore's reading of Dr. Brown's biographical documents and newspaper publications is important to my own understanding of these materials. Gilmore (1996) situates the mythologized stories of Charlotte Hawkins Brown into the context of their time in Jim Crow America. The needs of African Americans during this time period and the limitations they worked within dictated the need for Dr. Brown to craft the appropriate kind of story, one that would enable her to garner support of White benefactors.

THE ALICE FREEMAN PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

Dr. Brown founded the Alice Freeman Palmer Institute in 1901 in efforts to meet the needs of the community when the AMA decided to close the one room schoolhouse where she worked (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). Today, the school functions as the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historical Site, dedicated to Charlotte Hawkins Brown and her work. The museum's website, which is run by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, documents memoirs from students, a brief history of Dr. Brown's life as well as the school, photographs of the grounds from the past and present, and a considerable bibliography of sources relating to Dr. Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute. This site assisted me in better understanding the history of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, contextualizing her work, and unearthing her art education practices. The Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America houses the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Papers, 1900-1961. These files include documents such as school catalogs; Dr. Brown's correspondence with prominent citizens and PMI supporters; personal writings about life at PMI by Dr. Brown; and items of visual culture such as yearbooks, photographs, and programs from performances. These rich materials

have assisted in carrying out my analysis of the kinds of arts education present at PMI through the years.

ART EDUCATION HISTORY

In order to place Brown within the context of art education history, it was important that I have my own understanding of individuals and events that have influenced and shaped trends in art education. Arthur Efland's (1990) *A History of Art Education: Intellectual and Social Currents in Teaching the Visual Arts* chronicles the development of visual arts education in Western institutions and the social forces that influenced the growth and adaptation of the field into its present form. Beginning in classical times and extending through the 1980s, Efland (1990) examines the social relationships between "patronage, education, and censorship" (p. 2) that have led to the development of institutional systems within the field of art education. While Efland's (1990) work provides an overview of art education, many stories and voices are excluded from the text. Most notably, histories of African Americans, Native Americans, and other populations of color are omitted from Efland's version of art education history. Women are included, but their presence is limited. This absence sparked a curiosity that stayed with me through a pursuit of other thesis topics and to my eventual settlement on researching the life and work of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. By investigating the art education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, I hope to contribute to our understanding of a broader, more inclusive art education history.

Wygant (1993) narrows his focus from Efland's broad overview of art education in Western cultural institutions to the teaching of art in formal American school settings. However, similar to Efland, Wygant's text is limited in its scope of voices included. The experiences and opinions of people of color and women remain underrepresented.

Beginning his analysis in the 1820s and extending it through the 1970s, he, like Efland, looks not only at the curriculum being taught but also at the social and cultural influences that propel its evolution. In his chapter dedicated to the late 19th century, Wygant highlights two views that dominated art education. One was the set of practical values that influenced drawing practices, believing that art was intended for industrial purposes. The other was the belief that what was good was also beautiful, and, that education in the arts should foster an appreciation for the beauty and harmony of life. In his discussion of early 20th century art education from 1900-1915, Wygant discusses the picture study movement, the arts and crafts movement, and the progressive movement. Wygant's narrative of art in American schools and the social and cultural contexts in which developments were made, helped me place Brown's development of her school arts programming within a wider background of prevailing arts educational trends of her time. In her 1929 speech, "The Quest for Culture," Brown, perhaps a practitioner of the picture study movement, advises listeners, "Copies of masterpieces may be purchased from two pennies up to two hundred dollars and more," and asks them if they take the time to appreciate artworks such as DaVinci's "Last Supper" and Raphael's "Sistine Madonna" (p. 5). Not merely concerned with the arts for industrial purposes, Brown's aim was similar to that of the arts and crafts movement, which "aimed to develop good taste in all personal choices" (Wygant, 1993, p. 19) In the same speech in which Brown (1929) asks listeners whether they appreciate arts, music, and literature, she advises that all people are only as good as the habits they develop and compares being a good Christian individual to being "the living statue of the Master Sculptor, God" (p. 7). An understanding of Brown's art education practices at PMI can add to a more diverse history of arts education practices in American schools.

Eliot Eisner's 1972 book, *Educating Artistic Vision*, provides a useful overview of the history of the development of purposes for teaching arts education in American schools. From Horace Mann, who brought drawing and printing education to the United States from Prussia in the 1840s, to Walter Smith, who traveled to the United States in 1871 to advocate for art as a series of skills that could be taught, Eisner makes an argument for the development of an industrial arts education that took place in Massachusetts. This coincided with discoveries like that of G. Stanley Hall, who in the 1870s and '80s put forth the idea that the minds of children are developmentally different from adults and thus, different educational processes are needed for the two groups, and John Dewey's biological view of people as organisms of experience and that art was a primary part of learning about and understanding the world. Eisner (1972) sums up the changing trends in art education:

> The development of art education in the U.S. from the period of 1860-1915 was one in which the justification for the teaching of art shifted from a dominant concern with the development of industrial drawing skills to a desire to enable children to develop taste and to experience beauty. (p. 47)

It can be seen in beliefs held by donors of PMI and arguments made by Nannie Helen Burroughs (1904), Fannie Barrier Williams (1904), and others that ideas regarding arts education for African Americans were slower to change during this period. Industrial education was deemed enough for Black pupils, and Brown would be unable to establish a fine arts program at PMI until 1928 (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999).

In their book *Framing the Past: Essays on Art Education*, Soucy and Stankiewicz (1990) compile a series of essays that either present new evidence previously unexamined in the history of art education or look at accepted events from a new perspective that could alter our common perception of them. Though the book covers a broad overview of the international English-speaking art education practices through its presentation of

specific events and narrative, there is still limited representation of women. Amburgy's chapter, "Culture for the Masses: Art Education and Progressive Reforms, 1880-1917," offers insight into the progressive practices of art educators during the period in which Brown would have attended school, began her teaching career, and founded PMI. Doing so helps to contextualize Charlotte Hawkins Brown's work as an educator and community builder with an interest in the arts at PMI. Further, these stories of specific individuals and events helped me frame the particular story of Brown as an example of a wider gap in the history of education and arts education.

My research into the history of art education made it clear that there are an abundance of past achievements and struggles by individuals in art education that are open for further investigation. In this study, I highlight the arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown at Palmer Memorial Institute. While Brown is known for her fundraising efforts and education practices, her arts education initiatives have gone unrecognized until now. However, her contribution to arts education in both school and community contexts are real and worth examination. Research into the history of art education that has already been recorded helped me put the work of Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the programming at PMI into a more full and rich historical context.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND LOCAL HISTORY

In its most basic form, historical research is a methodology "to establish facts in order to arrive at conclusions concerning past events or predict future events" (Key, 1997). Characteristically, it aims to uncover the unknown, identify relationships between the past and the present, record and evaluate the accomplishments of individuals, agencies, or institutions, communicate an understanding of past events, and to assist in understanding the culture in which we live. In her 2012 book chapter, "Mystery Solved:

Detective Skills and the Historian's Craft," Hines compares the historian's craft to that of the detective, though she admits a case is never closed because new interpretations are needed as the world changes and perceptions are altered. Addressing a number of potential obstacles such as identifying causation versus correlation of events, Hines provides a broad overview of both how to read historical research and methods to conduct it. Overviews such as those provided by Key (1997) and Hines (2012) assisted me in my consideration of the best strategies for my own research into the life and work of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, in using historical methodologies and evaluating my sources.

From data collection methods to crafting a narrative, and interpretation of the facts to speculation about the unknown, Williams (2003) provides a useful guide for students embarking on historical research in *The Historian's Toolbox: A Student's Guide to the Theory and Craft of History*. Williams (2003) compares writing history to being part art and part science, by which he means that it consists of construction and discovery, analysis and imagination. Because there is choice involved, in which facts and events are presented and how a researcher interprets them, Williams advises researchers to consider not only their own personal biases but the political and social biases of their times.

Many historians have written specifically about conducting research of local history. Kyvig and Marty (2000) discuss methods for investigating local history in *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You*. The authors walk the researcher through a rich variety of historical material available for examination, such as published and unpublished documents, artifacts, visual documents, as well as landscapes and buildings. I used their writing as a guide when I interpreted my primary resources, which were mostly acquired through digital and material archives from Radcliffe Institute and the

Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site. As a part of the same *Nearby History Series*, Butchart (1986) offers insight specific to conducting historical research of local schools. His guidance for examining school curriculum, from the formal education provided in classrooms to informal learning through extracurricular activities and detecting implicit cultural messages, was beneficial to my endeavors into how the arts were represented across programming at PMI. As researchers, we can learn a great deal from images and visual mediums, as well as from written texts. Butchart (1986) gives relevant advice for asking questions of and interpreting symbols, iconography, photographs and other visual artifacts often left behind by schools.

In the scope of this research, I employed historical methodology as outlined by Key (1997), Hines (2012), and Williams (2003). I uncovered new facts and then analyzed them, using imagination to fill gaps present in the historical record. I then chose which information was most relevant and needed to be included in this thesis. The work of Kyvig and Marty, and Butchart helped me focus my research on a particular and specific subject of local history. They helped me consider the material history of the Palmer Institute.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN ART EDUCATION

While historical inquiry in art education is a small subset of research conducted in the wider field of art education, several notable scholars have contributed to our understanding of this field's history. Wygant (1993) wrote about the history of teaching art in formal academic settings while also examining how these approaches to art education were influenced by the social context of the time. He asserts that current "issues" in art education are frequently "current manifestations of these inherent enduring problems" (p. xix). Thus, the problems we see today in the field are not new, though they

may have been transformed or have evolved with new dimensions over the years. Wygant's introduction helps support my problem statement regarding the continual marginalization of some voices in art education in favor of others. Also, because of his focus on art in American schools, his research provided insight into the kinds of programming and influences present in other institutions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

As Williams (2003) addresses the choice of a research topic, the construction of questions, and decision on a type of investigative approach for students of general history, Bolin (1995) offers insights specifically for those in the field of art education in his chapter, "Matters of Choice: Historical Inquiry in Art Education." In particular, Bolin (1995) focuses on the kinds of questions historians of art education should ask themselves as they embark on their research and encourages researchers to consider the potential direct and indirect consequences of their decisions. In his later book chapter, "From Acquaintance to Argument: Five Phases of Historical Investigation within Art Education," Bolin (2013) walks the graduate art education researcher through his five phases of conducting historical research in the field of art education. His five phases consist of: (a) becoming familiar with historical literature, (b) developing a solid and interesting central research question, (c) deciding on a suitable methodology, (d) engaging in historical investigation in pursuit of answers, and, (e) "establishing and supporting a historical argument" (p. 153). Throughout his discussion of theses steps to conducting well-grounded research, Bolin (2013) offers a number of reliable and pertinent sources for historical investigation in local history, art education history, oral history and the analysis of photographic and material objects. He argues that historical researchers within the field of education underuse these photographic and material remnants from history. Perhaps his most relevant advice to historical researchers is:

"Thus, in researching and writing about the past we must keep in mind that history is not something we take from the past; rather it is something we make from the past" (p. 155). The works of Bolin (1995, 2013) were useful for framing the questions I asked during the course of this thesis research, considering a number of approaches to selecting and engaging with my source materials, and remembering that my research extended beyond a mere recovering of facts into a construction of a purposeful and positioned narrative.

Bolin (2009) argues for the use of both imagination and speculation when writing about the history of art education. In his article, "Imagination and Speculation as Historical Impulse: Engaging Uncertainties within Art Education History and Historiography," he emphasizes the need for empathy when wondering about past times and places of which we can never fully understand. He further asserts, "I believe it is then, when we explore and pursue with passion and intensity the imaginable and speculative futures *and* pasts of art education, that we can begin to comprehend a more complete range of possibilities for shaping and promoting a well grounded and dynamic professional field of art education" (p. 120). At the same time that we must recognize the limitations of historical research to offer a full account of the past, we also must not let such boundaries prevent us from engaging in historical research. I used Bolin's work to support my pursuit of this thesis topic as relevant and beneficial to the field of art education.

Arts education takes place in a variety of environments and serves different audiences. Its history is of importance for its ability to reach beyond the walls of schools and outside the bounds of high art presented in art history texts. Stankiewicz (1997) asserts that more historical researchers in art education need to conduct investigations related to cultural history in the United States. Particularly useful for my research into the life and arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown was Stankiewicz's (1997)

statement: “Feminist history has much to offer a field in which the majority of the practitioners have been women while the historically recognized leaders were men” (p. 62). The voices of these ordinary practitioners can offer more depth to our field. In pursuit of these ordinary stories, Stankiewicz (1997), like Bolin (2013) encourages researchers to consider oral history as a useful methodology that can counterbalance elitist approaches to recording history. This article helped me ground my use of the transcripts of Lois Mailou Jones within this research and to consider the need for inclusion of more voices of women in my interpretation and support of my research.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN ART

Otfinoski’s (2011) *African Americans in the Visual Arts* provides an encyclopedic guide to African Americans in the 19th and 20th centuries who have practiced art. A notable entry pertinent to this study is dedicated to Lois Mailou Jones (1905-1998). Jones was a versatile artist, accomplished in painting, illustration, textile design as well as teaching. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, she attended the Boston Museum School of Fine Art on scholarship, where she also worked part-time (Russell, 1998). In 1927, Jones graduated with a teaching certificate and began her job search. She applied for a graduate assistantship with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, but was rejected and advised to “go South” to help “her people” (Otfinoski, 2011). After hearing Charlotte Hawkins Brown speak in Boston, Jones took a job with at the Palmer Memorial Institute to run the new art department (Otfinoski, 2011; Russell, 1998). During her two years there, Jones did such an outstanding job that she was invited to join Howard University’s new and expanding art department in 1930. Jones remained at Howard for 47 years where she made a name for herself internationally as well as at home. An awareness of Jones is important to this

research because of her influence on the development of the fine arts department at Palmer Memorial Institute.

In Dr. Brown's (1929) speech, "The Quest for Culture," she advocates, among other forms of social uplift, for arts education to benefit African American pupils. First, she asks her listeners what kinds of art they select for their homes and whether they consider what makes a masterpiece. Then, she directs her listeners, "Our quest shall not end until we possess the land of the beautiful in music, in literature and art— yea, the art of living with one's fellows in the finest and best way" (p. 6). These subjects, as well as social customs, she asserts, help make a person well rounded and ready to engage in an American culture with all people. Brown was not alone in her quest to achieve culture through the arts. Other Black activists supported a need for African American achievement in the arts. Alain LeRoy Locke (1885-1954), a contemporary of Dr. Brown, and like Brown was an educator and author. In particular, Locke focused on the need for an authentic Black art that did not perpetuate Black stereotypes (Grant, Brown & Brown, 2016). He became an especially prominent voice during the Harlem Renaissance. Because not much is written specifically about Black thought in regard to art education, it was necessary for me to seek out African American viewpoints on both art and education.

BLACK STUDIES IN EDUCATION

Black studies has a storied past within the United States that has influenced African American thinkers for more than a century. While teaching attracted many educated and highly intelligent individuals, the education of Black students has historically been a polarizing topic (Fairclough, 2001). African Americans worked to educate themselves well before mainstream historians decided it was worthwhile to record such efforts. Williams' (2005) book *Self-Taught: African American Education in*

Slavery and Freedom takes an extensive look at the role African Americans played in the education of other black people. In his introduction, the author describes how his research emerged from his frustration with the education of African Americans being told predominantly from the vantage point of white, often missionary, educators. In an effort to contrast these patronizing histories, Williams (2005) follows the self-education of blacks in America from the time of slavery, when it was illegal to be a literate black person. In the decades after slavery, African Americans took a variety of paths towards acquiring an education. Some urged white missionaries, like the American Missionary Association (AMA), to provide teachers and resources to freed blacks in the South. In addition to their military duties, African American men in the Union army taught themselves and others literacy skills and donated time and money toward building schools in towns of freed people. During the later part of the 19th century, ideas of "self-help" and "self-determination" became important values. African Americans began to organize politically and build their own schools. It is during this era that Dr. Brown established PMI and where the story presented in this thesis begins.

The Washington-DuBois Debate

Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) and W. E. B. DuBois (1868-1963) were historically significant leaders who influenced the Black community, and particularly educators, artists, and activists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While they worked toward the same goal of reaching racial justice and equality, they sharply disagreed on their approach to social and economic progress. Washington, credited with being "the most influential black leader between 1895 and 1915," advised the Black community to accept discrimination and to focus on self-help and elevation (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2). In his 1901 autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, Washington encouraged a focus

on an education of manners, craft, industrial, and agricultural skills. He believed that the Black race could pull themselves up by their bootstraps with hard work, determination and patience, eventually achieving the respect and acceptance of White people that would lead to social and political equality. DuBois (1903a) believed that Washington's approach would perpetuate the inequalities already in existence, further holding back the Black community. He instead argued for immediate political action, civil rights activism, and the development of a small highly educated group of Black intellectuals, "The Talented Tenth" (1903b), who could then educate and guide the entire race.

W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington made notable contributions to the development of educational thought in the last quarter of the 19th century and early 20th centuries. While the Washington/DuBois dispute is credited with popularizing the Black community into two opposing philosophies, influences of both can be seen in the life and work of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. She was likely considered by peers to be a member of DuBois' "Talented Tenth," and actively shared her knowledge with the larger Black community through her work at PMI. However, in many ways she was more outwardly a follower of Washington. Brown first heard Washington speak in Boston in the 1890s and would credit this experience with influencing her career choice (Brown, nda; Marteena, 1977). After Brown built PMI, she continued to look to Washington for guidance in running a school for African American youth, and in several unpublished writings praised Margaret Murray Washington, Booker T. Washington's wife, for her interest in PMI (Brown, nda). As is seen through her interactions with White Northern donors, Brown often accepted discriminatory messages without openly retaliating, which follows Washington's more tolerant approach to seeking equality. Aldridge (2008) emphasizes that thinkers such as Washington, DuBois, Brown and others did not develop their ideas in a "vacuum," but in an environment where African Americans were collectively

developing ideas about "optimal education for African Americans" (p. 51). In this environment, Brown developed her own teaching and community-building style, and likely found space somewhere on a spectrum between their two opposing philosophies.

James Weldon Johnson, Musical Theater, and Racial Uplift

Music was the most prominent and public form of arts education evident at Palmer Memorial Institute. The Sedalia Singers, originally a quartette of which Dr. Brown was a member, became nationally recognized, performing in Boston, New York and at the White House as a guest of President Roosevelt in 1934. In addition to the choir, students of PMI put on elaborate musical pageants. The best-documented pageant I came across was "The Will and the Way," which was performed in 1928 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of PMI. Because of Dr. Brown's extensive involvement in the musical arts, it was necessary for me to familiarize myself with the historical literature related to African American musical history.

James Weldon Johnson, perhaps best known for his role as the author of the lyrics to the Black national anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing" (1896), corresponded regularly with Dr. Brown. By the time he joined the Board of Trustees for PMI in 1933, he had established a reputation for himself in musical theater, literature, politics, and education. In *Beyond Lift Every Voice and Sing: The Culture of Uplift Identity, and Politics in Black Musical Theater*, Seniors (2009) examines the musical, social and political accomplishments of James Weldon Johnson, Jonathan Rosamond Johnson, and Bob Cole. With his brother Jonathan Rosamond Johnson and colleague, Bob Cole, James Weldon Johnson formed one of the most celebrated Black theatrical teams of the early 20th century (Seniors, 2009). Johnson attended Atlanta University where he developed skills in oration, music, and sports, all of which would play a role in his career in musical

theater. Like Charlotte Hawkins Brown and so many of her contemporary, educated African Americans, Johnson had a strong commitment to securing education for the Black community. After university, he served as principal at Stanton school, a normal school in Jacksonville, Florida for African American students. At the same time, he wrote lyrics to his brother's music and founded a Black newspaper, *The Daily American*, for which he wrote articles against lynching. He passed the bar exam in 1897 and was admitted as a practicing lawyer in Georgia.

In 1896, Johnson wrote the lyrics to "Lift Every Voice and Sing," and his brother Rosamond wrote the musical composition. They dedicated the song to Booker T. Washington. The song became popular quickly and was often sung as a black anthem in black schools. The NAACP adopted it as the Black National Anthem in the 1920s (Seniors, 2009). The anthem demonstrated "an unwavering commitment to hope, freedom, social progress, and the affirmation of African American accomplishments in U.S. history" (Seniors, 2009, p. 24). This message would be reflected throughout Johnson's musical accomplishments with his brother and Bob Cole. Seniors (2009) asserts, "The foundation for Johnson's use of music and lyrics as an instructional tool of education for African Americans lay in the song" (p. 24). The Johnson brothers and Cole envisioned theatrical uplift as a political, social, and educational tool. Similar to Booker T. Washington's vision of social uplift as a means to find space for African Americans within respectable society in the United States, the trio desired theatrical uplift to link politics and culture by offering commentary on injustices, educating about African American achievements, and elevating artistic theatrical forms (Seniors, 2009). The group revamped racial stereotypes to reflect more positively on the African American community (Goldsby, 2015). They aspired to maintain distinctly African American traits

in their characters and music, but in doing so to remove the vulgarity and included elements of sophistication.

The history of the development of musical theater in the United States is complex and compelling. For the purpose of this study, I only briefly investigated a small area of African American musical theater from the years 1896 to 1920s involving the racial uplift ideology supported by James Weldon Johnson, Jonathan Rosamond Johnson, and Bob Cole. It seemed important to examine the experiences of African Americans in creating musical theater in order to consider the music education and programs offered at PMI. Charlotte Hawkins Brown was deeply influenced by individuals and institutions around her, thus making it necessary for me to examine a range of contexts pertaining to African American education, especially through the arts.

African American Women Educators

Teaching was one of the most respected career avenues open to African American women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Anna Julia Cooper was another prominent Black woman educator from Brown's home state, North Carolina. In their chapter, "A Great American Voice for Democracy," Grant, Brown and Brown (2016) describe Cooper as an "activist, educator, author, optimist, 'womanist,' (and) intellectual" (p. 29). She aspired to change the system of White dominance to better not only her own circumstances, but also those of all Americans, especially for Black women. As the fourth African American woman to attain a PhD, and a prominent member of Washington, DC society, Cooper offers a strong early feminist perspective on education, specifically as it affected African Americans. Her work is witty and sarcastic. In her 1891 essay, "The Higher Education of Women," she ridicules the "old professors" who considered the education of women "a rather dangerous experiment" (p. 101). Women

thirsted for education, she writes, "women who have given a deeper, richer, nobler and grander meaning to the word 'womanly' than any one-sided masculine definition could ever have suggested or inspired" (Cooper, 1891, p. 102). Cooper argues that education can only enrich the lives of women because a strong education has the capacity to make women better people as mothers and wives. Brown was an active member of society and feminist circles of her time, and understanding the rhetoric of other feminist thinkers of the period enriched my understanding of Brown's own ideas and practices. Particularly, in the early days of PMI, Brown focused on providing girls with a state of the art homemaking program in order to increase their access to healthy and happy living (Jenkins, 1946). Like Cooper, Brown believed in providing education for both sexes and that the cultivation of knowledge and skills would better enable women to be successful in all areas of life.

In *"We Must Be Up and Doing": A Reader in Early African American Feminisms*, Zackodnik (2010) provides a collection of works by African American women and men from the 19th and early 20th centuries. These include works by Cooper (1891), Burroughs (1904), Du Bois (1903a, 1903b), Washington (1901), and other thinkers who were publishing works before and during Brown's lifetime. For example, in her March, 1904 essay, "Industrial Education—Will it Solve the Negro Problem," Nannie Helen Burroughs argues that if Black individuals are discriminated against based on the color of their skin, then skills and intelligence cannot solve their problems. Industrial education, Burroughs, argues is seen as a one-size-fits-all solution to educating African Americans, but that trade labor is not fitting for everyone. In her July 1904 essay by the same name, Fannie Barrier Williams also addresses the teaching of industrial education, the most talked about subject in regard to educating Black students, and defines it as a subject with an emphasis on an acquisition of a wide range of skills. She advocates that

industrial education can benefit African American students, because with its expansion there are more career opportunities available to them. Having more choice also applies to women who gain an industrial education. Through industrial education, subjects of domestic science, namely nursing and dressmaking, women were able to turn household skills into professional occupations. However, despite the increases in opportunity and skill, Williams (1904) acknowledges that this type of education will not completely solve the problem of equality:

> We certainly all like to believe that the Negro is as good as any one else, but the important fact remains that the Negro is essentially different from any other race amongst us in the conditions that beset him. Just what these conditions are every intelligent Negro knows and feels. Among these conditions are illiteracy and restricted opportunities for the exercise of his talents and tastes. (p. 20)

While Black students may acquire equal skill to White counterparts, they will not be given the same opportunity to reach their potential. Williams, like Washington and many other educators, advocated for the equal right to education, economic and social opportunities through their writings and speeches. Williams, Washington, DuBois, Locke and other scholars helped me identify patterns in beliefs about art and education that were prevalent within the Black community during and after the turn of the century. Their voices helped me identify similarities and differences seen between Brown's arts education programming, the actions of other African American educators, and the arts education practices documented by other historians.

OVERLOOKED VOICES IN ART EDUCATION

In recent history, more scholars have attempted to give attention to overlooked voices in art education. Bolin, Blandy and Congdon's (2000) *Remembering Others* highlighted a variety of previously unheard voices from an African American art educator in Harlem, to the first black graduate from the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design,

from arts programming in Appalachia to a Traditional Indian Arts Program in Idaho, from the founding of the Lesbian Gay and Bisexual Issues Caucus at NAEA to a Jewish-American arts program in New York City. Bolin, Blandy and Congdon's work helps to illuminate where there are still gaps in literature about the history of art education and to place my research within a wider body of literature. Because of the number of overlooked stories they received in their call for submission for *Remembering Others*, Congdon, Blandy, and Bolin (2001) published *Histories of Community-Based Art Education*. The "invisible histories" put forth in these two anthologies, as Stankiewicz (1997) acknowledges of the wide variety of art education settings and audiences, depict art education narratives from a broad range of environments, practices, and participants. Of this, Congdon, Blandy, and Bolin (2001) state:

> Community-based arts education settings have been, and continue to be, among those informal and formal enclaves in which people assemble, work, and act together for a variety of political, cultural, economic, and educational purposes. These purposes are ultimately directed towards debating and creating the common good. (p. 3)

Through their depictions of these previously "invisible" community-based arts education histories, Congdon, Blandy and, Bolin (2001) clearly demonstrate arts education practices from a socio-political perspective that places arts education in pursuit of democracy. This perspective supports my research of the arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Beyond being an arts educator, she was a leader in her local, state, and national communities. She was politically involved in social issues and, I believe, taught the arts with her mind set very much on achieving a more democratic future for her students.

Women have been a substantially overlooked group in the history of art education. Historically, their contributions to the field have been under or unappreciated.

Outside the series *Women Art Educators I, II, III, IV, and V* (Zimmerman & Stankiewicz, 1982; Stankiewicz & Zimmerman, 1985; Congdon & Zimmerman, 1993; Sacca & Zimmerman, 1997; Grauer, Irwin, & Zimmerman, 2003), there has been little scholastic attention given to the specific experiences of women involved in the field. This series acts to correct the widely represented view that it was mostly men who developed art education in American and made notable achievements in the field. Throughout the five volumes, more than forty narratives are introduced, thus establishing a visible presence of women in the history of art education. As Congdon and Zimmerman (1993) affirm, "Our ancestors are the women art educators who…helped pave the road upon which all present day women art educators travel" (p. 7). For this reason, we must continue to revisit narratives of historic women art educators, and to celebrate their accomplishments and acknowledge their tribulations.

Other graduates of the Art Education Program at The University of Texas at Austin have attempted to call attention to individuals overlooked in art education textbooks. Notably, Glover (2011) presented a case for Juliette Gordon Low to be considered as an art educator for her work with the Girl Scouts. Her thesis gives voice to an artist and educator who had previously not been considered within the field of art education. Similarly, Adamson (2013) examined arts programming within Chautauqua, a movement that covered much more than just art education. Debra Hardy's (2015) thesis, *And Thus We Shall Survive: The Perseverance of the South Side Community Art Center*, paid homage to the struggles and achievement of the women who maintained Chicago's South Side Community Art Center. Because her thesis addressed both issues of gender and race by examining an African American art center run by women, it was an especially useful guide for me as I began my considerations of research into Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute. In similar fashion to these authors, I

aimed to look at the role of art in the wider educational practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, who historically has not been considered by historians of art education.

CONCLUSION

The sources included in this literature review helped me to more fully understand the contexts within which Brown lived and worked. It provided background on Charlotte Hawkins Brown; Palmer Memorial Institute; conducting historical research of local histories and in art education; Black studies, particularly in education and art; and efforts to represent overlooked voices in art education history. This chapter has helped me frame the story of Dr. Brown with an examination of varying contexts: her biography, the history of her school, the writings and thoughts of her contemporary educators, and the context of art education history. In this literature review I have considered sources from a variety of subjects pertinent to this research. I examined primary and secondary texts that directly related to Dr. Brown's life and the Palmer Memorial Institute. In order to ground myself in historical research, I evaluated a number of sources regarding the history and historiography of art education, and historical research methodologies. Because I examined an overlooked voice in art education and a woman of color, I analyzed a number of sources that examine African Americans in art, Black studies in education, African American women educators, and other overlooked voices in art education.

In Chapter 3, I present my research process, including my trip to North Carolina. I begin with my struggle to determine a research topic for this study, my initial investigations online and finding the Schlesinger Library's digital archives. From my research trip to North Carolina, I present my encounters with the Museum's archivist, Brandie Ragghianti, my tour of the Museum, and my experience in several archives at the Museum and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Chapter 3: *Research Methodology*

Deciding on a subject for this thesis project was more of a struggle than I initially anticipated. Near the end of a long and frustrating search, serendipitously, I came across Dr. Brown's biography in the library while inquiring into other potential thesis topics rooted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sitting on the floor in the Perry-Castañeda Library (PCL), I flipped through Dr. Brown's biography and became more engaged with her story. There was little information about arts education practices at Palmer Memorial Institute, but what I read piqued my interest. Despite skepticism from many of her donors, Dr. Brown's biographer, Charles W. Wadelington, wrote of her struggles to provide "higher branches of learning" to her scholars (1999, p. 116). From the book, it was clear that Dr. Brown was a brilliant and strong individual and that the obstacles she faced in providing education in the arts was worth investigation.

Moving my search for information on the life and career of Dr. Brown from the floor of the library to the Internet, a Google search produced the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site. The site's website contained an overview of the museum, several sections dedicated to the story of Dr. Brown and her role in building PMI, as well as contributions to a wider society, sketches of student life at the institute, and links to a variety of secondary source material relating to the life and work of Dr. Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute. There were also photographs that portrayed Dr. Brown and moments in history at PMI. A local creative writing class had even written essays describing their visit to and impressions of the museum. All of these sources helped me gain an idea of the kind of institution and community hub Dr. Brown had built.

After identifying my interest in the arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, I contacted the archivist at the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State

Historic Site. The archivist, Brandie Ragghianti, agreed with me that Dr. Brown had been interested in providing arts education to the pupils at Palmer and pointed me in the direction of Dr. Brown's archival collection at Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University. These documents include Dr. Brown's unpublished autobiography, correspondence between Dr. Brown and donors, photographs, newspaper clippings, school prospectuses, scrapbooks and programs, among other professional documents relating to Dr. Brown's running of Palmer. After an initial examination of this wide array of material I determined that I was interested in pursuing Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute as a topic, and would be able to find enough information to answer my central research questions. I admired Dr. Brown's ability to present one side of herself to her friends in the North, another side to her students and colleagues at PMI, and yet, another side to the African American press and civil rights circles. I appreciated her willingness to go against the wishes of her donors in order to provide her students with the highest quality of education possible.

During my survey of these documents, I soon realized that few publications contained data on the arts programs at Palmer and what existed was sporadic in its coverage. For example, I know that Lois Mailou Jones joined the PMI faculty in 1928 and organized the school's first formal art department. However, other than Jones's brief reference to her time at PMI in her oral history, also located digitally through the Schlesinger Library, there are no specific details or accounts of the department and program that I could find from that time period. In her oral history interviews, Jones comments that organizing the department was "a one woman's job" (Jones, 1977, p. 11), but does not further describe the job and says nothing of the actual art department, or even what specific art subjects were taught.

With a limited beginning underway, I continued my research journey. My aim was simple: "Amass as much evidence as possible and weigh each piece against the other" (Butchart, 1986, p. 108) in order to determine the scope and purposes for the arts education practices of Dr. Brown and the Palmer Memorial Institute. Following Butchart's process of gathering, criticizing and corroborating, weighing and evaluating, synthesizing and interpreting the evidence, I hoped to determine a narrative, which "emerges most naturally" from my research (Butchart, 1986, p. 109). How would I present contradictory evidence? What parts of Dr. Brown's story would be left untold? How might I fill in the gaps with Bolin's (2009) "imaginative speculation"? I sought answers to these questions.

Because Dr. Brown's story is firmly rooted in the past, I approached this paper primarily through a qualitative methodology of historical research. In his discussion of literature that aims to explain the historical academic achievement gap between Black and White students, Singham (1998) advises, "While we cannot change history, we should try not to dismiss it as irrelevant either" (p. 15). Beyond acknowledging our history, a historic methodology calls for discovery of new information and analysis of fresh interpretations of the past (Hines, 2012; Key, 1997; Williams, 2003). In this study, I set out to uncover previously unknown information about Dr. Brown's life and career that show her accomplishments as an art educator. In doing so, I sought to better understand the present culture of art education, and why certain people and events have received attention while others have not.

Throughout my initial investigation, questions arose that seemed to be unanswered in any past or current research. Though Charlotte Hawkins Brown believed in and provided arts education, documentation about these activities is limited. Despite her accomplishments and PMI's sixty-nine year life span, Dr. Brown's arts education

practices and PMI's programs have gone unexamined. Though her vision of the arts seems to align with ideas of Alain Locke, John Dewey, and James Weldon Johnson, in the early days of PMI she presented her school as a simple agricultural program. Everything Dr. Brown did seemed to have two purposes: to uplift her students and the African American race, and to educate Whites about the ability, potential, and need for equality between races. The latter, it seems, went more slowly, requiring more finesse and some omission in order to maintain peace and encourage funding.

Because of the limited amount of information available to me regarding Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute, I had to seek out a variety of research avenues in order to answer my questions. Through the Schlesinger Library's digital archives, I accessed both the papers of Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the transcripts of the oral history of Lois Mailou Jones. These archives featured heavily in my research. Butchart (1986) advises researchers of local schools to look beyond mainstream newspapers to publications aimed at specific groups, political movements, and other audiences. Heeding this advice, I searched for mention of and opinion pieces by Dr. Brown in databases of historical Black newspapers such as the *Pittsburg Courier*, *New York Age*, *Chicago Defender,* and *Washington Bee,* among others. This work moved slowly. Often Brown was covered in the society pages of newspapers like the *Washington Bee;* yet, only her name and who she was visiting during a specific time frame would be mentioned in an article. After several conversations with Brandie and Dr. Bolin, I decided to visit the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historical Site, located in Sedalia, North Carolina.

THE CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN PAPERS

The papers of Charlotte Hawkins Brown belong to The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at the Radcliffe Institute for Higher Learning of Harvard University. The library contains a large collection of resources for the study of women in the history of the United States. Heavily funded by Andrew Carnegie, the library opened its doors in 1908 and has been documenting women's history in this country for more than one hundred years. In 2014, the Dr. Brown collection, which had previously only been available on microfilm, was digitized and made available to a wider audience. When I was home in Kansas City, Missouri for the winter holiday, I found the microfilm version of the collection located in the Missouri Valley Room at the main branch of the Kansas City Public Library. Curious to experience the collection on microfilm, I spent several days at the library scrolling through the wide array of biographical information, professional correspondence, and materials related to PMI. The collection spanned four reels of microfilm. Scrolling through the information made me more appreciative of the digital age we live in today. Digitally, I could quickly navigate between different sections and could hold multiple documents open on my screen at any given time.

The collection is divided into three sections: personal and biographical data, 1900-1960, nd, #1-29; correspondence, 1902-1948, nd, #30-55; Palmer Memorial Institute, 1907-1951, nd, #56-76. Within the index of correspondents in the collection's digital Finding Aid, I could search for and locate specific individuals with whom Dr. Brown corresponded. The narrative of arts education in the life of Charlotte Hawkins Brown and at the Palmer Memorial Institute still had many gaps. Reports to the Board of Trustees were provided only for scattered years between 1922 and 1943. Likewise, brochures advertising programs provided at the school and financial reports were also

irregular. The material present in these school-published materials helped me begin to trace changes in curricular emphasis and to examine notions of the purpose of education at Palmer (Butchart, 1986). Many of the photographs located within the collection were undated or without description. Nevertheless, through my research in the three sections, I was able to begin to craft an image of what the arts meant to Dr. Brown personally, and also develop a timeline of the presence of varied arts forms at PMI.

It was my hope that along with my upcoming visit to North Carolina these documents from the Dr. Brown collection might enable me to better gauge to what extent Dr. Brown's public statements and publications matched her actual practice within the classrooms of PMI. This would prove to be difficult. As it would turn out, one of the reasons there is relatively little known about Dr. Brown's true intentions behind her educational practices is that she was very private. Most of the correspondence contained in the collection from the Schlesinger Library relates to business at Palmer. Though it is clear from the documents present that Dr. Brown was a skilled correspondent, there are almost no letters that pertain to her personal thoughts and feelings.

THE RESEARCH TRIP

My trip to the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historical Site took place in early January 2017. When I arrived in North Carolina, my first stop was the Greensboro History Museum. Sedalia, the home of PMI, lies ten miles east of Greensboro, and I knew that Dr. Brown had often taken her students on excursions to this nearby urban hub. Here, I got a sense for the local histories present in North Carolina and specifically surrounding Greensboro. With this broader context of Greensboro history in mind, I set out for the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historical Site the next day. There, I met Brandie in person and toured the facility with her as my guide.

Figure 3: Visitor's Center, housed in the Carrie M. Stone Teachers Cottage (1948), at the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum. Originally built to provide housing for unmarried teachers, today the building features exhibits on themes related to Dr. Brown, PMI, and African American education in North Carolina. Author's own photograph.

FIRST DAY AT THE CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN MUSEUM AND STATE HISTORIC SITE

The museum's visitor center (Figure 3) is located in what used to be the Carrie M. Stone Teacher's Cottage, a snug house for unmarried female teachers at Palmer Memorial Institute. There, I began my site research. With Brandie acting as my guide, I set out on a tour of the campus, which enabled me to better imagine what campus life must have been like for both students and teachers. My first impression was how isolated one might feel here. During my tour, we only came across one other person, a

groundskeeper. The only noises came from cars passing by on Highway US-70, also called Burlington Road. When Charlotte Hawkins Brown first arrived in 1901, the highway was not much more than a dirt road. The local elementary school directly to the west of campus was built with much influence from Dr. Brown. A white house across the street to the northeast also neighbored the school. Today, a post office stands east of the house, but in Dr. Brown's day this would have been a general store owned by the family that resided in the white house. Also, across the street and down a little westward is the Sedalia town hall.

Our first stop on the tour was Canary Cottage (Figure 4), the home Dr. Brown had built for herself and her guests. As we stepped into the cottage, the wooden floors creaked underneath our feet. If they could talk, they would have told of busier days with many guests coming and going. The house, named for both its yellow color and the canaries Dr. Brown kept as pets, was equipped in ways unprecedented in rural North Carolina. The house had electricity and indoor plumbing, the kitchen contained a kerosene refrigerator, and even the bathrooms had radiators. We stepped from the pathway into the living room. There, Dr. Brown would have greeted formal guests. It is likely that for this reason, the art on the walls in this room was very traditional, much of it with religious themes.

Figure 4: Rear view of Dr. Brown's personal residence, Canary Cottage (c. 1927). Called Canary cottage for both its yellow color and the canaries Dr. Brown kept as pets, inside is appareled with both original and period furnishings of the 1930s-1950s. Author's own photograph.

Figure 5: Living room in Canary Cottage. Author's own photograph.

Figure 6: Photograph of the *Robert Gould Shaw and Massachusetts 54th Regiment Memorial* hanging above the mantle. Author's own photograph.

Hung centered above the hearth was a photograph of the *Robert Gould Shaw and Massachusetts 54th Regiment Memorial* (Figures 5 and 6). Her friends and patrons from the North would have been familiar with this relief sculpture by Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907). Unveiled in 1897, the memorial sculpture served to commemorate a group of African American soldiers who were among the first to fight in the Civil War. The Massachusetts 54th Volunteer Infantry, established in 1863 under Governor John Andrew, was the first recorded formal African American regiment in the Civil War. Robert Gould Shaw, the son of prominent Boston abolitionists, led the Massachusetts 54th Regiment and died on the battlefield. The sculpture depicts Shaw on horseback while the rest of the regiment marches on foot down Beacon Street in Boston on their way South. Interestingly, this photograph could have served Dr. Brown's purpose in

making her donors feel comfortable in her living room. The sculpture features the African American soldiers in the background while George Bernard Shaw is depicted prominently and paternalistically leading the group. It could also have served Dr. Brown to commemorate African American history and heroes when hosting students or African American guests.

Moving into the dining room, a copy of George Henry Boughton's (1867) painting, *Pilgrims Going to Church* (Figure 7) hangs distinctly on the wall across from the dining table. Classically illustrating frontier and pioneer life in Massachusetts, the image depicts pilgrims walking through a snowy landscape. Likely, Brown would have hosted dinners with donors, and the very traditional, Boston-related historical art piece would have aided her in flattering and conversing with her guests. Further, familiarity with such a prominent painting in American art history would have benefited her students in adapting to a culturally White society in college and beyond.

Figure 7: Photograph of George Henry Boughton's (1867) painting, *Pilgrims Going to Church,* which hangs in the dining room of Canary Cottage. Author's own photograph.

Dr. Brown had her study and a bathroom also on the first floor. Upstairs contained four bedrooms and two bathrooms. Most of the rooms are furnished with furniture that belonged to Dr. Brown, though her bed was absent from her master bedroom. Decorating the second floor was almost entirely landscape paintings. With the exception of her master bathroom, which was a brilliant shade of jade green, the walls were yellow. The house provided a glimpse into Dr. Brown's style and taste for fine things. In Canary Cottage and elsewhere on the campus grounds, much of how things looked in the past remains the same today.

Moving away from the cottage toward the space where the Alice Freeman Palmer building used to be, we came across a meditation altar Dr. Brown used for prayers and, sometimes, where she sent students to contemplate their wrongdoings. The grave of Dr. Brown is nearby. In Kimball Hall, the dining facility, Dr. Brown had designed the building so that boys and girls entered on opposite ends of the buildings and kept their coats in separate coat closets. A lobby area at the back of the building houses a small exhibit piece on the Sedalia Singers (Figure 8). It features a photograph of Dr. Brown with three teachers from Palmer who made up the original Sedalia Singers quartette. The same glass box contains photographs of other groups of students in the Sedalia Singers and a photograph of a group of girls dancing in a pageant. On the wall next to the exhibit is an enlarged photograph of a yearbook club. Artworks are featured prominently on the wall behind the group of students. Even on a memorial sign dedicated to the agricultural life at Palmer, located on the southeast edge of campus where students and community members would have farmed enough food to provide for their livelihood rests a photograph of Dr. Brown with vegetables (Figures 9 and 10). Paintings are displayed on easels behind her. I will return to this photo (Figure 10) for discussion in Chapter 5.

Figure 8: Exhibit of music programming at PMI, displayed in Kimball Hall. Author's own photograph.

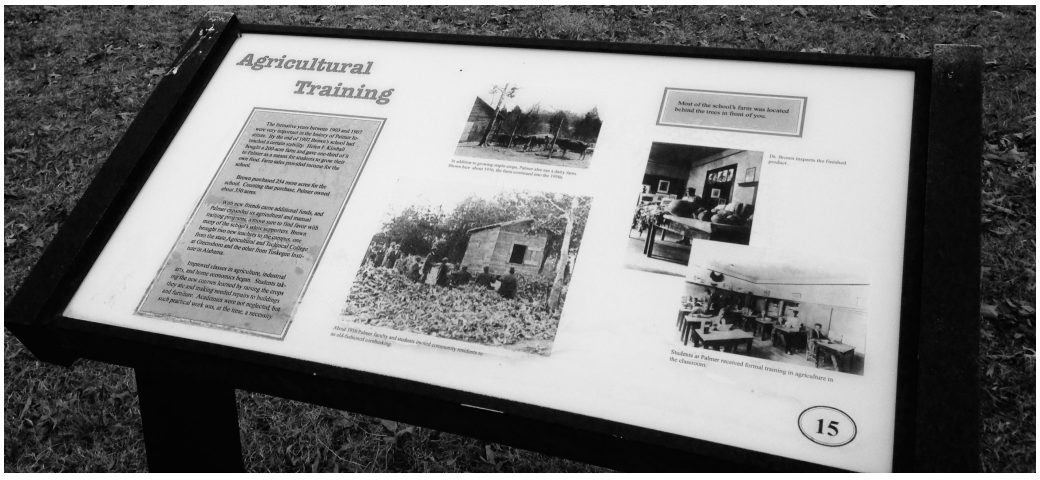


Figure 9: Agricultural Training sign on PMI campus grounds. The center right photo on the sign depicts Dr. Brown looking over a selection of giant produce. Behind her are easels of artwork. Author's own photograph.

Figure 10: Charlotte Hawkins Brown standing behind a table with still life for use by art students, Palmer Memorial Institute art classroom, c. 1933. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

THE WILSON LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

In between my days and the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site, I visited the Wilson Library at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Prior to my trip, I had searched online in their library database and saw that reports written to the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Historic Sites Section by Dr. Brown's biographer, Charles W. Wadelington were available on microfilm. The website listed the documents of Wadelington in the North Carolina Archives in the Wilson Library, making this my first stop of the day. I was able to scan all these reports and email them to myself for investigation when I returned to Texas.

In the North Carolina Archives, I was also able to access a copy of a catalog for PMI for the 1931-32 school year. The following subjects are featured in this document: home economics and agriculture, art, and public school music are listed as available "minor" courses for students in the academic and scientific branches of the school. Under the general category of public school music, courses for voice, piano and orchestral instruments are listed. Dramatics is recorded as available to only fourth year students in the academic track. Physical education is also listed as a minor subject, and from photographs seems to have heavily involved dance for female students. In these archives there was also a bulletin from 1919-20 that documented "music on piano or organ" and domestic arts as available subjects; a program from a concert and pageant given by the Sedalia Singers at the Philadelphia Academy of Music in 1938; and an annual report to Palmer's Board of Trustees from 1920.

After accessing everything pertinent that was available to me in the North Carolina collection, I headed upstairs to the Southern Historical Archives. There, I found two boxes of papers from James Harden (1903-1985), a journalist of Greensboro, North Carolina, and William Jesse Kennedy Jr. (1889-1985), a local businessman and parent of a student. The two letters I found in Mr. Kennedy's paper regarded sending his daughter to Palmer and were of no use to my research. In the Harden Papers there was a folder dedicated to documents pertaining to Palmer Memorial Institute. These included a copy of the *Brown American,* which featured articles on PMI, a school catalog from 1964-65, a reprinting of a 1953 article for an issue of *Message*, several newspaper clippings of articles about either Dr. Brown or PMI, and other documents relating to publicity for the school.

SECOND DAY AT THE CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN MUSEUM AND STATE HISTORIC SITE

On Saturday, I returned to the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site to search through photographs of classroom life at Palmer for signs of arts education in action. Though not many, there were a number of photographs that suited my aims for photographic analysis. Some of them featured artwork in the background of classrooms, while a few specifically pictured PMI students in various arts clubs. I requested high resolution scans of a number of these photographs in the hope that I would be able to zoom in and focus on the particular art pieces displayed on the walls. In the folders I researched through this day were also reports from PMI's 1965 summer pilot program, which was heavily focused on the arts. The program was funded by the Ford Foundation and served as a pilot for Upward Bound, a program still in existence and funded by the U.S. Department of Education. These papers offered detailed lesson plans, drawings, and summary reports from teachers.

After I finished photographing and going through these documents, Brandie and I talked for a while about Dr. Brown. Her enthusiasm for anecdotal stories about Dr. Brown was evident. She was able to tell me facts such as Franklin Roosevelt's mother was the initial supporter of Dr. Brown's efforts at PMI. Also, that Dr. Brown befriended many members of the Black business world in Durham, North Carolina, and they would have sent their children to Palmer. This dual connection gave her more clout to advocate for political and social moves. Before I left, Brandie provided me a list of the four paintings that Lois Mailou Jones is believed to have painted during her time at PMI, and pointed me in the direction of the Department of Public Instruction, Division of Negro Education Papers at North Carolina State Archives.

Before I headed back to Chapel Hill to prepare for my journey home, I walked around the grounds on my own. I snapped a few pictures and appreciated the buildings left behind by Dr. Brown's efforts. In 1901 her school's history began in a rundown blacksmith's shop. During the next sixty years, buildings would rise through the hard work of Dr. Brown, community members and students (some, who made bricks in their Industrial Arts classes for some of the early buildings) and sometimes fall (mostly, from several fires). Still, enough of the school stands to enable one to grasp a sense of what would have been on its finest day: an agricultural farm that sustained the school's food sources, hallways, classrooms and common areas decorated with artworks from Dr. Brown's extensive art collection, a tearoom filled with students relaxing after classes, community members coming to and from the campus to visit Dr. Brown and attend cultural activities, Galen Stone and other friends of Dr. Brown's from the North coming to visit the school. It would have been a lively place.

CONCLUSION

When I first began my research, I was unsure if there would be a strong argument for the case of Charlotte Hawkins Brown as arts educator. I came upon her biography because it was placed next to a book on women educators in the library. Finding her story interesting, I engaged in further research first online and then during my trip to North Carolina. Through this process, I have learned a wealth of information about her life and career. Using this information, I have provided a biographical look at Charlotte Hawkins Brown in Chapter 4. This chapter sets up a context in which Dr. Brown is considered to be an arts educator.

Chapter 4: *The Life of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown*

In this chapter I present a brief family history and upbringing, particular early artistic influences and some significant events in the long career of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. This chapter is essential to the study because in it I establish the lifelong interest Dr. Brown had in the arts, especially the visual and musical arts. Throughout her life, Dr. Brown functioned primarily as an educator. However, her interest in the arts extended beyond the personal and into a more social and cultural sphere. In the summer before she opened the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute (1902-1971), Dr. Brown used her own musical aptitude as a means to collect funds by singing at inns along the coast of Massachusetts (Brown, nda; Jenkins, c. 1946). Influenced by her upbringing under her mother and grandmother, Dr. Brown cultivated one of the finest collections of art housed at an African American school in the South (Catalog, 1929-1930; Jenkins, c. 1946). This artistic vision would inform Brown's educational practices during her fifty-year career directing the Palmer Memorial Institute and her activism in pursuit of racial uplift. This chapter presents a brief historical background for my study and a richer understanding of a complex individual who has made her indelible mark on history, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown.

FAMILY HISTORY AND UPBRINGING

Lottie Hawkins was born on June 11, 1883, in the small, rural town of Henderson, North Carolina. In her unpublished biography, Brown describes her birthplace: "…a little cottage by the side of the road that sat almost on the spot where my grandparents had been slaves" (nda, p. 1). Lottie's mother, Caroline Frances Hawkins (1865-1938) was the youngest of twelve children born to Rebecca (c. 1826-1901) and Mingo Hawkins. The identity of Lottie's father remains unknown, although Brown (nda) believed he may have

belonged to a family on a neighboring plantation and that fate had kept him apart from her family. Rebecca and Mingo Hawkins, Lottie's maternal grandparents, were slaves and belonged to a large plantation in Vance County, North Carolina. Not much is known about Lottie's grandfather, Mingo. He was possibly a carpenter and owned his farm after emancipation (Wadelington & Knapp, 1997). In an autobiographical essay, Dr. Brown (ndb) describes her grandmother, Rebecca Hawkins, as "fair with blue eyes, an aristocrat to the manor born" and "a descendant of the English navigator, John D. Hawkins, whose children settled in Vance County and became great slave holders" (p. 1). In this narrative, Brown emphasizes her connections to possible White relatives and, according to Gilmore (1996), exaggerates the interracial connections within her family genealogy to craft a story of interracial cooperation and uplift. In his research, Wadelington found that Rebecca may have been treated as a breeder and seems to have had twenty-one children, only twelve of them with Mingo (Wadelington & Knapp, 1997). As a reward for what would have been considered an elite slave position, Rebecca may have received preferential treatment that included a gift of land, upon emancipation. While Brown stresses that her family had blood connections to her masters, she glosses over the violent history that brought about these interracial bloodlines. Instead, she focuses on the positive cultural traits her family was able to develop because of this relationship. Characterized as being fond of beautiful things, Rebecca's preference for home decor made a strong impression on young Lottie.

When Brown was forty, she returned with her mother to visit the remnants of the plantation where she was born and her grandparents had served as slaves. In the publication, "Some Incidents in the Life and Career of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Growing out of Racial Situations, at the Request of Dr. Ralph Bunche," Brown (ndb) writes: "I remember even now the commingling emotions of pride and humiliation as I

stood there and viewed the scene" (p. 1). This is the only mention relating to her family history that is not crafted to fully look on positive aspects of slavery, yet even in this moment Brown acknowledges the pride she has for her family. In this same biographical essay, Brown claims that her White relatives would have no shame to know that they share blood and that the poor White folks who lived near the plantation had fine souls. In regard to her upbringing, Brown asserts that between Cambridge and North Carolina during her time in grammar, high, and normal schools she did not experience any different treatment based on her skin color (Brown, ndb).

As an adult, Brown credits the exposure of her grandparents to upper class living by their owners as an inspiration for her family's desire to uplift themselves. She even references the "four big columns placed equally distant on the front porch" on the cottage in which she was born as having had an impact on her: "One only needs to see a picture of the institution in which I have labored for the past more than twenty-five years, to see what an impression these columns made upon my childhood mind" (nda, pp. 12-13). The Alice Freeman Palmer Building, dedicated in 1922, was considered one of the most modern school buildings in North Carolina at that time, and had four prominent white pillars (Brown, nda; Daniel, 1931; Jenkins, c. 1946). These columns were only one way influences from Dr. Brown's childhood would manifest throughout the course of her adulthood. In *The Twig Bender of Sedalia*, Jenkins (c. 1946) supports Dr. Brown's own writings: "Those columns created in that imaginative young mind [of Lottie Hawkins] such a picture of inspiration and aspiration as to have influence her entire life" (p. 2). Dr. Brown's taste in material culture, aesthetics, and her belief that the arts could culturally uplift African Americans would flourish from the varied experiences of her childhood growing up amongst family and communities in Cambridge and Henderson.

Mother and Grandmother, Arts Educators

Rebecca and Carrie Hawkins, Brown's grandmother and mother, significantly impacted the development of young Lottie. Carrie Hawkins is described as "spiritually keen" and her enthusiasm for religion would influence Charlotte in her love for her faith (Brown, nda, p. 14). Carrie would also push her daughter to succeed in ways she herself had been unable. In her work life as a seamstress and laundress, Carrie Hawkins was also diligent and attentive to appearances (Jenkins, c. 1946). In their everyday life, Dr. Brown recalls that her mother was thrifty, yet still able to make "home and home life beautiful" (Brown, nda, p. 14). With the help of Brown's stepfather, her mother was able to furnish a parlor, maintain a piano, and keep the bedrooms looking pretty, and grew "vines and flowers around the front door and windows"—all which made "wonderful impressions" on young Charlotte (Brown, nda, pp. 14-15). This attention to maintaining beauty in the home and home life would become a preoccupation of Dr. Brown during her career at PMI. She would instruct students on manners for conducting themselves at social gatherings as well as in the home, the correct ways to dress, and her home would be decorated with furnishings that were stylish and beautiful for the time.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown cites her grandmother and mother as being her first art educators. From Brown's descriptions of her lessons, we can deduce that she cultivated a broad view of what could be considered arts education:

> My first lessons in interior decoration were learned from my mother, for whatever fortune may bring me now no greater beauty can stir my soul than did the little bedroom off my mother's room, the furniture made out of wood boxes, which were covered in blue cambric and dotted Swiss muslin. My bed looked too pretty at night to disturb, and I suspect I slept many times on top of the bed rather than under the cover. I can see the mirror now, set back beyond parted blue and white ruffles, stiffly starched and immaculate. (Brown, nda, p. 13)

The rich detail Dr. Brown provides, ranging from the type of fabrics present to the immaculate tidiness of the bed, enables us to surmise that art in everyday living was a value stressed during her childhood. It also becomes clear that arts education was something to be learned at home as well as in school. It is significant that Dr. Brown credited her grandmother and mother, women with very little to no formal education, as her first art educators.

Figure 11: Photographs of Rebecca Hawkins and Caroline Hawkins Willis, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

In pursuit of better educational and economic opportunities, nineteen members of the Hawkins family—including Lottie, her mother, grandmother, aunts, uncles, and cousins—moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1888 (Denard, 1995; Wadelington & Knapp, 1997). Lottie attended and graduated from Cambridge English High School, where she gained the attention of the principal, Mr. Ray Greene Huling, for her talents in the arts and drama (Jenkins, c. 1946; Marteena, 1977). In her own writing, Brown would later credit principal Huling with having influenced her entire career (Brown, nda). Her combined artistic skill and economic savvy helped Brown earn extra money during her high school years. In her unpublished biography, she narrates a memorable incident:

> I remember one day seeing the eighteen hundred or more students hurrying to the Chapel, and I went along with a large number mostly of the other group, and how abased I was when I saw that a crayon portrait of one of my classmates that I had made and brought to her as a gift was being exhibited to the whole student body. This was one of the means I had for earning extra money, doing crayon portraits for many of my friends. There hang now on the walls in Cambridge some of the work that I did in those early days. (Brown, nda, p. 14)

Through her memories we can see a progression of Dr. Brown's early engagement in arts education. First, she was influenced by the choices her mother and grandmother made in the decorating their home spaces. Then, as she engaged in more formal education settings, Brown developed her own interest in creative activity through the visual arts. Drawing portraits was not only a subject for which she had a proclivity, but also a practical means to earn income.

Dr. Brown describes her early education as a time when she developed a wide range of skill-sets. She became an adept orator as well as developed talents in music and singing. According to Ceci Jenkins (c. 1946), Lottie began taking piano lessons at age seven and that her propensity for the instrument led to her to receive special training in

singing. As a child, she even began to develop the cultured persona that she would maintain throughout her lifetime. When asked to write her name for her graduation announcement, Lottie Hawkins wrote the name she would, from this point forward, adopt: Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins (Brown, nda; Jenkins, c. 1946).

Meeting Alice Freeman Palmer

Dr. Brown would write about and tell of her first encounter with Alice Freeman Palmer (1855-1902) so many times that it sounds like the stuff of a myth. As the story goes, young Charlotte was determined to wear a silk slip under her dress and a silk cap trimmed with lilies of the valley to wear for her high school graduation. When she asked her mother for these items, Carrie Hawkins replied: "You can only have silk when you work and earn the money" (Brown, nda, p. 15). Taking her mother at her word, Charlotte sought advise from a teacher who then told her about a job that paid three and a half dollars a week as a nanny to an infant and a toddler. Alice Freeman Palmer came across young Charlotte rolling the baby in a carriage while reading her textbook of Virgil. Palmer, apparently impressed by the young girl who was reading while babysitting, stopped to ask Charlotte where she went to school.

A few days after their encounter, the principal called Charlotte to his office and relayed the information that Alice Freeman Palmer had made an inquiry about her. The name did not mean much to Charlotte then, though it would in time. Alice Freeman Palmer (1855-1902) was president of Wellesley College from 1881 to 1887. In 1881, Palmer founded the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, which would later become the American Association of University Women. Palmer would serve as its president from 1885 to 1887. In 1882, at the age of twenty-six, Palmer was elected president of Wellesley and became the first women to head a nationally known college. She left this

career to marry George Herbert Palmer, a professor at Harvard University. After giving up her full-time position at Wellesley, Palmer remained involved in education, particularly promoting education for women. From 1892 to 1895, she acted as non-resident Dean of Women at the University of Chicago.

After her four years of high school, Brown was intent on going to Radcliffe College. However, her mother would not agree to this plan. As a compromise, Brown persuaded her mother to support her in pursuit of a teaching certificate from a state normal school. Brown writes: "Imagine my surprise when I opened one [catalog] from the State Normal School at Salem, to see the name, 'Alice Freeman Palmer' on the front page as a member of the board of education of Massachusetts" (Brown, nda, p. 18). After learning that the woman she had bumped into in a park was on the board of education for the state of Massachusetts, Charlotte contacted Alice Freeman Palmer to explain her desire to attend the State Normal School at Salem. As Dr. Brown remembers, Palmer responded within a few days and offered to pay whatever expenses she might incur.

Brown would maintain written correspondence with Palmer until her death in 1902. Afterward, she would carry on correspondence with Palmer's husband, George Herbert Palmer (1842-1933), until his death.

Hearing Booker T. Washington

Another notable person who Brown attributes to influencing her career trajectory is Booker T. Washington, and later his wife Margaret Murray Washington. Charlotte first heard Washington speak at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Boston, Massachusetts in 1897: "He said, 'You, who have had the opportunity for education in Massachusetts, should help your own people in the South. Massachusetts does not need you. Come over to Macedonia and help us'" (Marteena, 1977, p. 21). Interestingly, the *Robert Gould Shaw*

and Massachusetts 54th Regiment Memorial was erected in the Boston Commons in 1897 and Booker T. Washington spoke at the dedication ceremony. Later, Brown would acknowledge that Washington had helped give her the courage to start her own school from inside a dilapidated blacksmith's shop (Brown, ndb; 1931). Brown wrote: "The special interest and guidance of Booker T. Washington, followed even by Mrs. Washington, gave impetus to my plans and inspired confidence in my attempt to build ten miles from town…" (ndb, p. 8). Other early role models and influencers included Maria Louise Baldwin (1856-1922), Master of a Cambridge School and a local civic leader; and Lucy Craft Laney (1854-1933), a dark-skinned successful educator who founded the first school for Black children in Augusta, Georgia. After she formed PMI, Dr. Brown would become friends with Laney, helping her raise money for her school and speaking at her funeral (Jenkins, c. 1946). The ideas and practices of thinkers and activists such as Washington, Baldwin and Laney helped Dr. Brown formulate her own purpose of racial uplift through education, so that when a chance encounter on a train in Cambridge presented an opportunity for her to strike out on her own, she felt ready to accept the challenge.

Teacher Education and Moving to North Carolina

Having received financial support from Alice Freeman Palmer, Brown enrolled in courses to obtain a teaching certificate from the State Normal School at Salem. After one year of commuting from her home in Cambridge to school in Salem, she met the Field Secretary of the Women's Division of the American Missionary Association (AMA) on the train (Jenkins, c. 1946). The representative offered her a position with the Bethany Institute, an AMA school in North Carolina, Charlotte's home state. Charlotte accepted the position and in the autumn of 1901 jumped down from a Southern Railway train into

rural Sedalia, North Carolina. Approximately fifty students attended the Bethany Institute, which was located in the town church (Jenkins, c. 1946). Jenkins described the facilities:

> The children were seated on long benches which served as pews on Sundays. Attached by hinges to the back of each bench was a long board which, when propped up, provided a desk for the pupils directly behind it. A large, flue-like stove—of the type used in tobacco barns—stood in the middle of the room….Ventilation was amply provided through the numerous cracks and broken windows of the room. (c. 1946, p. 26)

Young Dr. Brown soon felt at home in Sedalia, North Carolina and determined to make the best of her situation. Even in teaching, Dr. Brown faced challenges. Her pupils spanned ages—some her age and older even—and had varying degrees of knowledge; almost all were below the expectations that had been laid out in her coursework in Salem (Jenkins, ca. 1946). To accommodate her new students, Dr. Brown created and facilitated intense drills for the students, in order to bridge the gaps in their knowledge.

Challenges faced by the students and the time needed to cultivate an environment adequate for learning created further perplexities for the young teacher. Many of her students faced obstacles to even attending school, such as living as many as twenty miles from the school (Jenkins, c. 1946). This was a serious impediment because the school year was only five months long, mostly during the winter to allow for farming in the spring through the fall. No state-run transportation to schools existed during this era and individual travel during winters was often difficult, due to bad weather.

During the spring of 1902, the AMA announced their plans to close the Bethany Institute. In the same summer, Charlotte Hawkins Brown finished coursework to obtain her teaching certificate. After completing her courses, Brown toured Gloucester, Massachusetts singing in hotels and speaking to her audiences about her plan to open a school. Though she was a member of the graduating class at the State Normal School at

Salem, Brown, busy with fundraising and school building, was not present to receive her certificate (Jenkins, c. 1946).

THE ALICE FREEMAN PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

When Charlotte returned to Sedalia after a summer of fundraising in 1902, residents donated fifteen acres of land and "an old log blacksmith shop" (Marteena, 1977, p. 35). The school opened on October 10, 1902. Marteena (1977) describes the building: "The blacksmith shop was made into classrooms, with a kitchen and living room downstairs. The loft was used for sleeping quarters for fifteen girls, the other teacher, and Miss. Hawkins" (pp. 35-36). The boys had to commute.

The first years of operation for PMI were a fight for survival. Materials were scarce, families sending their children to school had few resources, and students were academically unprepared:

> There was little opportunity to put into effect the advanced methods Charlotte and learned at Salem. Always, there was a struggle for existence and to see that each girl and boy was taught as much as they had time to teach him. There was individual instruction, however, the teachers, of necessity, adapted the curriculum to the particular needs of the students. (Marteena, 1977, p. 36)

Additionally, girls had to prepare food, do laundry, and maintain the general upkeep of the school. Because many of the girls came to the school with little knowledge in these areas, food preparation, cooking, laundering, and housekeeping were in themselves education. According to a school pamphlet from 1916, every girl must be able to make her own dress in order to graduate. Dr. Brown put into practice her theory that "first class instruction in all phases of home-making" would elevate "the economic and moral status of the community" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. 13). Dr. Brown and the community were successful. Between the years 1902 and 1914, PMI steadily grew in physical size and number of students. Funds were raised through extensive letter-writing projects in which

the students and teachers worked together to write twenty-five letters per night to potential Northern donors. The first letter-writing project netted $500, which along with other donations funded the foundation of PMI's first new building. Memorial Hall was completed in 1905 and became the center of campus activity. Vina Wadelington Webb, one of eleven graduates of PMI's second graduating class in 1907, recalled victrola concerts that took place on the porch of Memorial Hall in the spring and fall seasons (Daniel, 1931; Jenkins, c. 1946).

On November 23, 1907, the first PMI charter was signed. In it, PMI was specified to stress the education of manual training and agriculture. Maintaining the school was a community effort: "Each pupil contributed something, even if it was only five cents, which was supplemented by fundraising concerts, bazaars, and other forms of entertainment. These were cultural, and the community participated" (Marteena, 1977, p. 42). Creating a place such as Palmer Memorial Institute required assistance from more than funders and community members. Dr. Brown sought advice and resources from anywhere or anyone that she could find. In 1909, Brown reached out to Virginia Randolph, an educator in rural Virginia known for her work in its poorest communities. In Randolph's response to Dr. Brown, she outlined her plan for building her school:

> The grounds must be beautified and everything done to make an attractive school. Each scholar is expected to pay the sum of five cents per month and from time to time, give entertainments to strengthen the treasury but they must have a tendency to elevate the community morally and educationally. The children are taught to sew, make shuck mats, baskets, darn and anything that will help them in their homes. Along the lines of carpentry, they keep the schools in good condition. (Randolph, 1909)

Like Randolph, Dr. Brown desired her campus to be an attractive meeting place and wanted the community to be involved in its development and upkeep. In Palmer's early days, Dr. Brown acquired as much land as funding would allow her to do. Then, she

would sell small parcels of land to local families. In this way, she helped the entire population of Sedalia develop economically. When she first arrived to the rural town, only two families owned property (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). She also started the Sedalia Home Ownership Association (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). By the 1930s, most families in the town owned their own land (Marteena, 1977; Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). As the school grew in size, it also grew in reputation and prestige. The first accredited high school class graduated in 1922.

Soon PMI would have more applicants than it could feasibly accept as students. In his (1944) *Spotlighter* magazine article, "Charlotte Hawkins Brown—Pride of New England," Bell notes that eight hundred students applied for twenty-five open positions at the school, which only had "full facilities for the entertainment and upkeep of two hundred families" (p. 18). Students came from forty states and several foreign countries, including Liberia and the West Indies (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). A number of celebrities in a variety of fields had come to speak or perform at the institute or to personally visit Dr. Brown. For example, Marion Anderson, a renowned opera singer, performed at the school, as did Rin-Tin-Tin, the famous German shepherd movie star (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

EXPERIENCES WITH JIM CROW AND RACISM

One of her first recorded experiences with racism occurred when Charlotte Hawkins Brown, while visiting the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, was forced to use the back staircase even when the trustees of the museum were donors of her school. She tactfully employed this story to acquire funding for not only her vocational and academic programs, but also for "a program to express beauty, truth, and goodness through art, music and dancing" (Brown, ndb, p. 8). In a 1921 letter to Galen L. Stone's

wife, Carrie Stone, Dr. Brown wrote of her personal struggles closer to home in North Carolina: "You can never know, my dear friend, the prejudice that greeted me….The white people of this section held up their arms…. I, year by year, strove to make friends among the very people who disliked me without cause" (Brown, 1921).

Charlotte Hawkins Brown skillfully made friends across racial borders, and when she encountered obstacles she adeptly found methods of turning the situation to her advantage. Many of the profitable connections Dr. Brown formed were meaningful enough that she could, on occasion, correct the manners of donors and correspondents. In a May 9, 1921 letter to Mrs. W. E. Lowe, Dr. Brown admonished the woman for tactlessly sending her a letter without a title:

> I was both surprised and grieved to find that I was serving a body of women who feel that my legal title "Mrs." is too good for me. I come across that so seldom in the fine white people with whom I deal, I scarcely know what to think when I get an envelope without a title. I know it is a new thing to many white people, but intelligent Negroes resent being addressed by their names without title. (Brown, May 9, 1921)

In another frank letter to Theresa Adams, Dr. Brown wrote, "Sometimes the prejudice is so great that I can't stand it a day longer but then I look into their innocent faces and realize their needs and determine to stick to it whatever the cost" (Brown, March 30, 1921). And, Charlotte Hawkins Brown did exactly that. She supported, ran, and raised funds for the Palmer Memorial Institute until her death in 1961.

The Pullman Porter Cars

When Charlotte first travelled south to join the AMA's Bethany Institute, there were not Jim Crow regulations in place on Southern Railway trains in North Carolina (Jenkins, c. 1946). However, discriminatory regulations were legalized shortly after her arrival. Even before this legalized discrimination, Brown struggled with prejudiced

behavior from White citizens in North Carolina. Experiences with train travel often resulted in unjust and humiliating experiences for Brown. According to Brown, her lawyer took no commission from the lawsuits she filed against the Pullman Company. In her (1996) book, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*, Gilmore contradicts Brown's statement about her lawyer and other facts Brown lays out regarding her life and career. Gilmore argues that Brown obscured some facts in favor of highlighting others in order to craft a narrative of more positive interracial relations. By this theory, Brown used her experiences on the Pullman trains and then, with hiring a White lawyer, as a means of demonstrating the facts of racial discrimination while also putting forth an example of interracial cooperation. In sorting out these differing views, it is useful to remember that history is often built on multiple interpretations of the same event.

This theory of seeking interracial compatibility is possibly supported even by Jenkins' (c. 1946) biographical account of Dr. Brown's early life experiences. Jenkins notes in detail that even when young Charlotte was assisting her mother by delivering laundry to White customers in Cambridge, MA, she used the front door. Charlotte apparently entered through the front door the same as any house servant because this was the "Cambridge custom" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. 11). Dr. Brown furthers this statement of interracial peace in Massachusetts by stating "that not a single time when she was growing up in Cambridge did any one, by word or deed, make her realize that she was in any wise [ways] different from the Caucasian boys and girls who were her associates and friends" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. 7). This accepting environment may be true to young Charlotte's experiences, and it also seems possible these are exaggerations used to garner continued support from New England donors rather than ruffle any feathers with unwanted criticism of racial relations in New England. In considering the ways Dr.

Brown may have exaggerated her story in order to shape a picture of race relations that most benefited her causes, we must also question how her presentation of personal early memories of artistic experiences may have been altered in order to also perpetuate a desired image or story of arts in her life.

Access to the Arts

Brown used her experience with discrimination to assist in raising money for her new school, the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute. After being forced to take the back stairs to reach her potential donor, Brown explained to the man, "If a person… would make a gift of $50,000 or $75,000 (and I needed just that amount then to carry out a building project) to some Negro woman, it would raise all Negro womanhood in the estimation of people" (Brown, ndb, p. 8). Tactfully, Brown was able to use her experience to convince her White donor that if they gave money to her school, they were in fact protecting and supporting all Black women. Her plan was successful and the unnamed donor gave her the full $75,000. Brown writes:

> These friends sensed the Negro problem in a way they never had and devoted the next ten years of life to helping to work out plans for providing Negroes not only with the vocational and academic knowledge for a foundation for life, but arranged a cultural program to prepare Negro youth to fit into human society with the rough edges removed,—a program to express beauty, truth and goodness through art, music and dancing. (ndb, p. 8)

The absence of the names of donors in Dr. Brown's accounts is likely not an accident. For the purpose of this study, it is notable that this donor gave funds to Brown for not only academic education at Palmer, but also specifically assisted in developing programing that included art, music and dance. Dr. Brown had trouble procuring the funds and support from the White community to sustain a visual arts program, making this unnamed donor an exception (Wadelington & Knapp, 1997).

Creating arts programming for the school was not the only avenue where Dr. Brown and Palmer students faced discrimination. Access to community cultural events also came with difficulties. Even in regard to accessing cultural and arts programs within the local Greensboro community, Brown and her students experienced segregation. Brown writes:

> I am even segregated in my own town to hear the Negroes, Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson, since we do not own auditoriums large enough to accommodate the crowds who press their way to do them honor. But my mind is rejuvenated by their music to strive harder to build a race that will some day rise in majesty and break down every wall of segregation in American life. (Brown, ndb, p. 11)

Roland Hayes (1887-1977) was an American lyric tenor and composer, and Marian Anderson (1897-1993) was a celebrated contralto. On at least one occasion, when attending a performance at the Carolina Theater in Greensboro, students were not allowed to enter the building through the lobby. Instead, they were required to enter by steps at the side of the building that led directly to the balcony where they were assigned to sit (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). Even when PMI students were the billed performers, Dr. Brown had to confront racist practices. In a letter from 1921 addressed to Bessie G. Holt, Dr. Brown writes:

> We will be there Tuesday, April 19. We are bringing a chorus of 30 voices. We expect you to charge $1.00 admission for reserved seats, certainly to the number of 250 and 75 cents for all other seats downstairs.
>
> If you have a balcony or gallery, please get in touch with Prof. Gunn, principal of the colored graded schools and get him to take charge of the tickets for colored people at 50 cents. We do not like to sing at places unless the people are willing to let the colored people come and hear us too and I'm sure you will. (Brown, 1921)

In response to these challenges, Dr. Brown often found ingenious ways around segregation. When taking her students to the movie theater in Greensboro, she would rent out the entire theater so that there was no such segregation in the audiences. At the same

time that Dr. Brown acknowledged the existence of Jim Crow, she also fought to show her students glimpses of a world free of racism and segregation. She concludes one autobiographical essay with these hopeful sentiments:

> Recognizing the need of a cultural approach to life, believing absolutely in education through racial contacts, I have devoted my life to establish for the Negro youth something superior to the Jim Crowism by bringing the two races together under the highest cultural environment that will increase race pride, mutual respect and confidence, sympathetic understanding, and Interracial Goodwill. (Brown, ndb, pp. 11-12)

FAMILY LIFE

Charlotte Hawkins Brown must have had a strong sense of family. She and her mother maintained a close relationship throughout their adult lives. Carrie Hawkins would eventually move in to Canary Cottage at PMI with Brown. In 1911, Charlotte married Edward S. Brown, a teacher at Palmer. Edward Brown assumed he would become principal of Palmer after their marriage, and was sourly surprised when Charlotte Brown maintained her place and life as principal at the school. The marriage was short-lived and Edward relocated to another school in Georgia within five years (Marteena, 1977). Brown married again in 1923. Her short-lived union with John William Moses and details of Moses' life are mostly unknown, though it appears he was a conman of sorts and their marriage ended when Dr. Brown discovered his infidelity (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999).

After her brother died, Charlotte took in her mother, sister-in-law, and three nieces, Charlotte, Maria, and Carol. They all lived together in Canary Cottage and Dr. Brown raised the girls. It seems that she would also take in Palmer students who were either too young for the dormitories or needed housing during the summer months as well as the winter (Marteena, 1977). Along with raising her brother's children, Dr. Brown

helped care for the four children—Jonathan, Lolita, Eugene, and Carol—of her youngest aunt, Ella Brice, who was an accomplished musician and frequently traveled for her performances (Marteena, 1977). Ella's husband, Reverend John Brice was chaplain and vice president of PMI for a number of years. Interestingly, amidst the many stories of Dr. Brown's overprotectiveness of the children, she allowed the three oldest Brice children to drive to Chicago as teenagers to attend the World's Fair. Charlotte and Maria Hawkins, who were slightly younger in age, were also allowed to go on the road trip (Marteena, 1977). The children also showed a proclivity for the musical arts. All the Brice children sang in the Sedalia Singers. Maria Hawkins would grow up to make a name for herself in Hollywood before marrying Nat King Cole.

Figure 12: Charlotte Hawkins Brown with Nat King Cole, niece Maria Cole, and grandniece "Cookie" Cole, ca. 1947, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Having spent most of her adolescent life in Cambridge on the outskirts of Boston, one of the most metropolitan and progressive cities of the time, adjusting to rural life could not have been easy for young Dr. Brown. There were fewer opportunities for exposure to arts and cultural activities than found in metropolitan New England. Looking for more cultural opportunities in rural North Carolina, Charlotte joined the Ladies Art Club in Greensboro, "which included literary aspects, as well as art, in its program" (Marteena, 1977, p. 37). However, this lack of cultural activities, did not stop Dr. Brown:

> She [Charlotte] viewed the community as an instrument in the learning experience of her students in a functional approach to education. Thus, the growth and the misfortunes of the two were in reality almost one. Often the citizens of Greensboro referred to Palmer as "Sedalia" so close was its ties to the community. (Marteena, 1977, p. 55)

Dr. Brown brought arts and cultural programs to PMI and opened such events to all Sedalia. In this way she acted as a community arts educator, a role that is further examined in the following chapter of this thesis.

As Charlotte Hawkins Brown gained national status and fame, she became more outspoken on cultural, racial, and social issues that plagued the United States. She became highly successful as a public orator, receiving 150-200 speaking requests per year (Brown, ndc). She spoke regularly at Wellesley, Smith, Radcliffe and Mount Holyoke, as well as at colleges across the South. In a letter dated February 24, 1921, W. E. B. Du Bois extended an invitation to Dr. Brown to attend the second biennial Pan African Congress (Du Bois, 1921).

Dr. Brown held many offices in some of the most active community organizations in the nation. She served as the first Vice President of the National Association of Colored Women, Vice President of the National Council of Negro Women, and was also

the first African American woman to be elected to the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) (Bell, 1944). In North Carolina, she also served as president of the North Carolina State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and was an active member of the North Carolina Inter-racial committee (Saunders, 1930). Additionally, during World War II she was an active member of the Executive Committee of the Home Nursing Council of the American Red Cross, and acted as "Special Consultant to the Secretary of War on the Hostesses and Recreation in Camps" (Bell, 1944, p. 19). Dr. Brown demonstrated great capacity as a leader. In her biographical manuscript, Jenkins (c. 1946), recounts a humorous moment at a meeting of the National Association of Colored Women:

> She [Brown]—by no means a politician—challenged the presiding officer's right on a matter contrary to the constitution, and held her ground on the floor by exclaiming, 'I would rather be right than president.' …Dr. Brown recalls to this day with laughter the sort of cat calls that came from office-seeking women all over the audience: 'Let her be right and let somebody else be president.' (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. H)

Jenkins illustrates a relatable depiction of a woman who had leadership abilities and who also, sometimes, put her foot in her mouth.

A staunch advocate of women's rights, Dr. Brown served on a number of committees and advocated for a variety of organizations that aimed to uplift African American women and children, in particular. She helped institute a home for wayward girls in North Carolina, a scholarship fund for girls to attend college, and even a Black braille magazine (Marteena, 1977). On several occasions she spoke in front of the governor of North Carolina urging the state government to fund public education for Black children. She was cited in a 1939 newspaper article in *The Buffalo Progressive Herald* for speaking out against the barriers Black women face, compared to their White counterparts. In the speech, which was reported in the newspaper, Dr. Brown criticized

emancipation, stating that it only freed Black men, and Black women have been left with little to no resources or encouragement to rise from their slave status (Brown, 1939). She further claimed that Black women are regarded as inferior in that White women are now allowed to "embrace smoking, drinking, and carousing," while Black women are still judged more severely for such vices (Brown, 1939). Dr. Brown used these criticisms to encourage White Southern women to aid Black women in reaching for higher ideals and more fair treatment.

Death and Legacy

Charlotte Hawkins Brown accomplished a multitude of achievements within her lifetime. Much of these were made possible by her "exceptional energy" and unusual endurance (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. C). Jenkins even notes in jest, "her personal physician marvels at it" (c. 1946, p. C). Jenkins (c. 1946) describes Brown as a misunderstood, tireless individual ruled by ideals, sometimes angry, but forgiving, ultimately, a complex human being who after years of strain had a short temper about smaller things, but an abundance of patience to tackle society's largest problem: "She herself often remarks that she is like the boa constrictor that the large animals can not harm but the ants can worry to death" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. D). Dr. Brown's hard work and dedication paid off. Palmer Memorial Institute achieved a renown that was rivaled by very few high schools in the United States.

A devoted academic, Charlotte graduated from Wellesley College with a B.A. in 1928. In 1937, she received her first honorary L.L.D. from Lincoln University of Pennsylvania, thus earning the title Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. One year later she was awarded her second L.L.D. from Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio. In 1944, Howard University recognized Dr. Brown with an honorary Ph.D. Desiring to encourage

more women to pursue higher education in 1956 Dr. Brown established a scholarship for female students to attend college (Charlotte Hawkins Brown).

Dr. Brown retired from her position as president of PMI in 1951. Under her close guidance, successor Wilhelmina Crosson (1900-1991) acted as president for the next fourteen years. With Crosson's guidance, PMI would receive government funding for piloting a summer program that would eventually become Upward Bound. Brown lived in Canary Cottage on Palmer's campus until her death in 1961. In 1966, Crosson retired as president of PMI and was replaced by Harold E. Bragg. The school saw two more presidents before closing in 1971 after a fire destroyed the Alice Freeman Palmer Building (Charlotte Hawkins Brown).

Figure 13: Gravesite and memorial for Charlotte Hawkins Brown, on the grounds of the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site. Author's own photograph.

CONCLUSION

Fact and fiction become murky, often intertwined together in the biography of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Most of the materials available for understanding the life of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown come from sources she controlled. There are unpublished manuscripts of her autobiographical materials and anecdotes in speeches written by Dr. Brown. Dr. Brown commissioned the unpublished manuscript, "The Twig-Bender of Sedalia," by Ceci Jenkins, her personal assistant. Judging from Brown's meticulousness, it is easy to agree with Gilmore's (1996) assertion: "Her story is so interwoven with myth—fiction that she [Dr. Brown] fashioned to outmaneuver racism—that it is difficult to separate the reality of her experience from the result of her self-creation" (p. 179). Because of these obscurities, the information presented in this chapter may well be parts fiction and fact. The minimization of the restrictions of race on her life and exaggeration of the helpfulness of White individuals in her life, Brown shrewdly crafted a story that could leave behind a message that at every moment in history interracial cooperation is possible, and even necessary for rising to our highest level of human involvement and experience. The records of arts education are sporadic and it is the aim of this study to compile these excerpts into a reasonable and well-supported argument for Dr. Brown's role as an arts educator.

In this chapter I presented a brief family history of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, chronicled parts of her early life and education, and included evidence of her grandmother and mother as her first arts educators. I further examined Brown's initial endeavors to open Palmer Memorial Institute, her skilled manipulation of humiliating experiences with Jim Crow to support her cause, and briefly explored her role in the activism for civil rights. The chapter concluded with a brief summary of Dr. Brown's legacy.

Though she did not directly label herself as an arts educator, she certainly cultivated an image of herself as someone with artistic aptitude and advocated for more arts in the education of African American students, and implemented arts programming, even sometimes at the chagrin of donors and trustees. In the chapter that follows, I present and analyze examples of specific arts education programing that occurred at PMI. Images, statistics, and grounded speculation have assisted me in creating a narrative of the broad scope of arts education that occurred during a time period spanning the early 1900s through the 1960s, after Brown's death. Her life and her legacy as an activist for civil rights, education, and the arts are important to recognize as well as honor.

Chapter 5: *Arts Education in the Career of Charlotte Hawkins Brown*

The purpose of this study has been to present for consideration the arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. In order to create a well-rounded case for Dr. Brown as arts educator, I have taken a stance that arts education extends beyond the creation of visual arts, to include aesthetic appreciation, music, drama, and domestic arts. Embodied within Dr. Brown's passion for her work is a belief put forth by fellow art educator, Ellen Gates Star (1902), "A real and persistent love of doing good and beautiful work, in itself, tend to bring about the conditions of doing it" (p. 84). Dr. Brown aspired to create beauty in the world and to inspire and equip students to do the same. This chapter examines elements of arts education in Dr. Brown's personal life and work at Palmer Memorial Institute. Through this investigation, my aim is to explore ways Charlotte Hawkins Brown may be considered an art educator.

EARLY ARTISTIC INFLUENCES, 1883-1901

From Dr. Brown's autobiographical writings, it is clear that her own exposure to and participation in the arts made a lasting impact on her. She cites both family and school settings as influences on her development of skills in drawing, singing, and playing piano. Jenkins (c. 1946) also presents evidence that early in Charlotte's life, she was influenced by artistic choices of family members. In describing the home of Charlotte's grandparents in Henderson, North Carolina, Jenkins (c. 1946) states:

> The walls of the rooms, simple as they were, were tastefully decorated with worthwhile pictures. A discerning eye could readily discover that these were not chosen at random but must have been selected with certain care. Several of them were copies of masterpieces now familiar to most people. Others were pictures of no particular significance, but they contained a harmonious array of colors pleasing to the sight. (p. 1)

This description closely matches Dr. Brown's own accounts of her family's attention in fine detail and beautiful aesthetics within the home. The Hawkins home in Henderson, North Carolina is further described as "meticulously clean" and "giving evidence that the inhabitants had an eye and no doubt a craving for the beautiful" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. 1). The focus here is on the aesthetic capabilities that Dr. Brown's family members displayed. Her grandparents were folks with no formal art training, but with an eye for detail and a desire to cultivate beautiful spaces. The attention to aesthetics follows trends of art education in the late 19th century. Many people accepted the idea that the beautiful was good and that the arts should foster an appreciation for the beauty and harmony of life (Wygant, 1993). In their accounts of Charlotte's early artistic influences, Dr. Brown (nda, ndb) and Jenkins (c. 1946) assert the ability for individuals to teach themselves artistic habits by being active observers each of their own environments.

During her studies at Cambridge English High School, Charlotte developed what she would fondly refer to as "an insatiable thirst for art" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. 9). Charlotte would spend her extra money to buy pictures to hang in her room (Brown, nda). It appears that this habit of hers might have been influenced by the pictures decorating the walls in her grandparents' home in Henderson, North Carolina and from her mother's meticulous attention to the appearance of their home environment. As seen in her story told in the last chapter, regarding her proclivity in creating crayon portraits, Charlotte's early artistic explorations were not only in collecting and decorating. She also developed skills in drawing, piano playing, and singing.

The Hawkins family's apparent belief in self-cultivation was not confined to visual appreciation and interior design; they also aimed to develop their musical talents. Before anyone in the Hawkins family took formal training in piano, the family acquired a piano:

> In the hall of the little house, visible immediately upon opening the front door, stood a pedal organ, sedate and stately in its bearing. In all likelihood no one ever played on it. It is doubtful that any occupant of the house could play. But there it stood, helping for the impression that home meant the possession of such an instrument, and in later years proved that such an instrument meant music. (p. 2)

The family was so dedicated in their aspirations that even though it is likely that no one in the family could play the piano, they kept in the house a symbol of fine music. It seems likely that these descriptions of her family home in Henderson, North Carolina served both to ground Dr. Brown's personal interest in the arts as well as present her humble family background as having an uplifted spirit and desire to educate themselves in cultural and social graces that were often denied people of color. Even before establishing PMI, Dr. Brown dabbled in music education. During her first year at the Bethany Institute, Brown offered to give music lessons to students (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). She also asked Mr. Guthrie, one of her first donors, to donate an old piano from his office to the school. It is unclear if she actually managed to procure this piano, but it is evident that from her first days of teaching, Dr. Brown believed in teaching the arts in addition to the expected curriculum.

PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, 1902-1971

When the Palmer Memorial Institute first opened its doors, the community of Sedalia had few resources and little exposure to the arts. Much of the subjects taught in early years seem out of necessity to focus on basic skills needed for keeping a healthy home and making a livelihood. These industrial and domestic arts (Figures 14, 15, and 16) classes helped students build attention to detail and beauty while developing skills that literally helped build up the community. A 1919-1920 Bulletin advertises the school as being for "the farmer's boys and girls" (Bulletin, 1919-1920, p. 2). The bulletin also states that students will pay a fee of $1.00 for sewing or shop lessons (Bulletin, 1919-

1920). An early community initiative, Dr. Brown would organize with the health clinic of Guilford County to visit PMI so that students and the Sedalia community could access healthcare (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). To expose both students and the wider community to the arts, Dr. Brown organized events such as movies, lectures, and musical programs. Electricity did not come to many homes in the area until the 1940s, so these special events were some of the few opportunities that community members had to access

cultural activities (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Figure 14: Domestic science class, Pictured in 1930-1931 catalog with the epigraph, "You can live without learning, you can live without books, but no civilized man can live without cooks," Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Figure 15: Cooking classroom with students, Palmer Memorial Institute, ca. 1901-1915. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

Figure 16: Group portrait of carpentry class, Palmer Memorial Institute, ca. 1901-1915. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

Dr. Brown developed the curriculum at PMI to focus on particular areas that would help the students enter careers in teaching, housekeeping and agriculture. Pedagogy, domestic science, domestic arts, manual training and carpentry, and agriculture are listed as the primary departments in the school (Bulletin, 1919-1920). In the domestic arts department, students learned sewing techniques and completed an apron and article of underwear (Bulletin, 1919-1920). Additionally, "Every graduate must make her dress" (Bulletin, 1919-1920). Domestic science focused on cooking and housekeeping (Figures 14 and 15). While female students attended domestic arts and science classes, male students focused on manual training, carpentry, and agriculture courses (Figure 16). Many students who studied pedagogy went on to become teachers (Bulletin, 1919-1920).

As PMI became more firmly rooted in Sedalia and the community around Palmer developed, Dr. Brown was able to expand the amount of arts education programming provided. A 1929-1930 school catalogue boasts that Palmer is an Institute of "Fine, Practical and Liberal Arts," and offers an additional two years of study beyond high school of a "junior college rating in North Carolina," which emphasized Fine and Practical Arts (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 11). During this time, PMI had music and visual art departments: "Public School Music, Music Appreciation, and Art are included in the Preparatory High School Courses. Students in these departments who show some talent in these pursuits may receive special instruction in Art and Instrumental or Vocal Music" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 11). It is clear from this catalog that Dr. Brown aimed to provide an exceptional and affordable education to her students. In regard to the collegiate program, the school catalog states:

> Our aim is to give two years of college training for the cost of one year's work in most colleges.

> The president is in touch with the New England colleges and can secure scholarships for the students of high rank graduating from our collegiate department. (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 10)

In line with Du Bois' aspiration and theory of forming a talented tenth, Dr. Brown sought out opportunities for students, who demonstrated an aptitude, to continue their education and receive specialized training. While the 1930-1931 catalog no longer advertises a junior college program, it maintains that PMI offers "special instruction in fine and practical arts" (Catalog, 1930-1931). It is significant that the arts were a part this plan. At both the high school and collegiate levels, students could develop artistic aptitudes in music, visual arts, and drama. Brown used her connections with colleges in New England to help students secure scholarships. A number of PMI students would go on to study the arts at these prestigious universities. Some of these stories will be highlighted later in this chapter in the section, Student Achievements.

Education did not occur only in the classrooms and laboratories at Palmer. Rather, it occurred anywhere and everywhere: on the school grounds, in the local community, and even on excursions to metropolitan cities known for their arts scenes. In order to give students an appreciation for a wider and cultural world, Dr. Brown added as many books and opportunities for exposure to the arts and music to the school as she possibly could. Near the front of the 1929-1930 and 1930-1931 catalogs, ten reasons are listed for attending PMI (Figure 17):

Figure 17: Why You Should Come to Palmer

1. At Palmer Memorial Institute we aim to keep the enrollment so small that every student may have the individual attention of the teachers.
2. Special attention is given to Physical Education, Music, Drama, Applied Arts.
3. A special advisor to students above elementary grade has been appointed by the school.

4. Palmer combines the comforts and camp ideas of the Y.W.C.A. with its regular life: (a) Organized hikes are planned. (b) Good, clean moving pictures are shown twice a month. (c) Socials and parties under faculty supervision give students opportunity for social contacts.
5. A spacious dining hall rings in the evening with the glee songs and cheers of the students.
6. The school has an art collection superior to that of any Negro school in the south.
7. The institution plans a ten-day trip yearly to Washington, New York, or Boston, for the senior high school or college classes for the observation of art museums and historical sites, as well as an opportunity to attend high class musicals, etc.
8. Palmer students are said to have more pep than most students.
9. Every possible effort has been made to surround the students with beauty and culture.
10. Palmer correlates religion with a full and joyous life. (Catalog, 1929-30, p. 6; Catalog, 1930-31, p. 3).

It seems significant in considering Dr. Brown as an arts educator that three of her ten reasons (2, 6, and 7) for coming to PMI are directly tied to the arts. Not only are students offered special instruction through formal classes and extracurricular activities, but also they are surrounded by a first-rate art collection (Figures 18 and 19) and have opportunities to travel to Washington, New York, or Boston for art-related trips. In this way, Dr. Brown illustrates for potential students that education takes place not just in classrooms. Rather, quality arts education can occur in hallways by observing copies of masterpieces, or in the wider world where students gain exposure to professional musicals and fine art museums.

Figure 18: Students in library at Palmer Building, c. 1930, Framed artworks from Dr. Brown's extensive collection were displayed throughout the school. There is also a gramophone displayed in the corner of the room. Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Figure 19: Agricultural and vocational classroom at PMI, c. 1930, Framed artworks from Dr. Brown's collection were hung in classrooms. In this way, the arts held a significant presence in the school. Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

BENEFACTORS OF PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

Providing arts education to African American students in the early 20th century had its share of obstacles because of both subtle and overt racist ideas about aptitude and culture. Not all PMI's donors and trustees desired that money or effort go toward providing fine arts opportunities to the students. Galen Stone, one of PMI's most generous donors, was a noted exception. Dr. Brown and Stone met in 1913 when Brown was trying to raise money for PMI in Boston. Agreeing to give money to the school, Stone said, "I am not interested in educating and advancing Negroes, but in making American citizens, and feel they should be given the highest and best there is" (Brown, ndd, p. 1). It is notable that Stone considered Palmer students to not just be in need of an education for African Americans, but that of any American citizen. In her eulogy delivered in the chapel at Palmer after Stone's death, Dr. Brown acknowledged that during his lifetime, Stone had visited her in her home and listened to the singing of her quartette and, on a separate occasion, attended PMI's dramatic musical performance of "Cotton Needs Pickin'" (Brown, ndd, p. 1). In addition to supporting the formal arts education at PMI, Stone had an interest in aesthetic environments: "He offered to pay the services of a landscape gardener and offered Mr. Brice [the groundskeeper] a chance to come to Boston to visit the beautiful mansion estate" (Brown, ndd, p. 4). Attention to the entire school and its grounds, as something that should be made beautiful, appeared in American education as early as the 1840s (Wygant, 1993). Meticulous attention would be put into maintaining aesthetically pleasing educational campuses.

Other individuals directly and indirectly voiced their skepticism at the presence of arts education at an African American school. Mrs. Helen Kimball was an example of the kind of donor who wished to support PMI, but doubted the full potential of its students. In Brown's own commentary: "…Mrs. Kimball had her limitations…. Being a disciple of

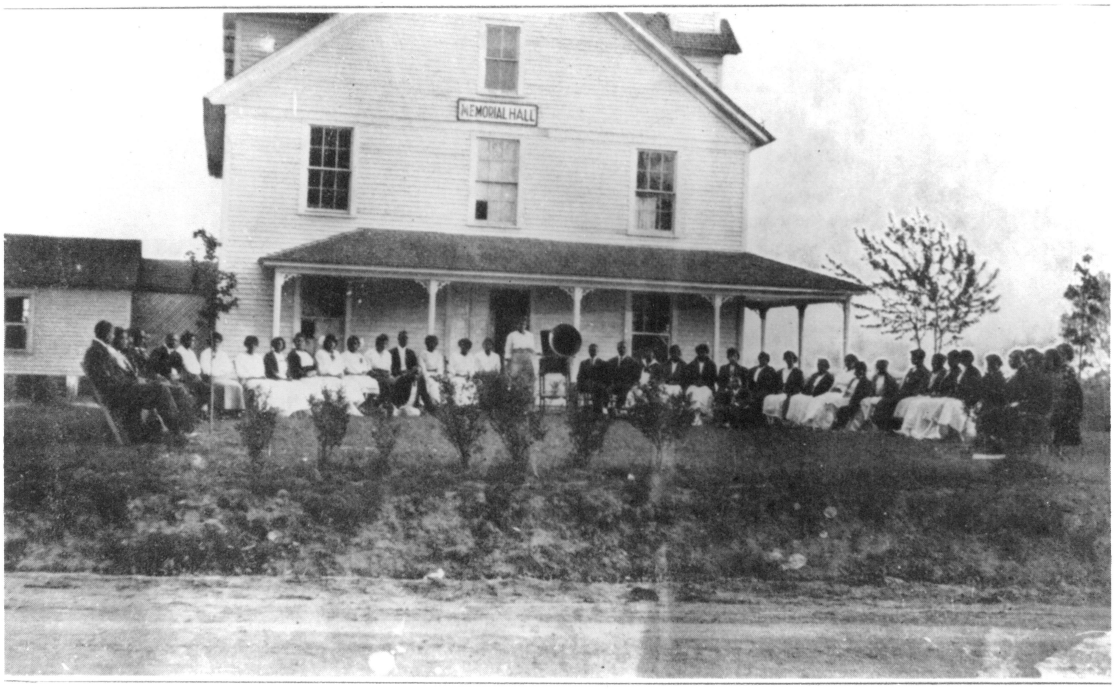
Booker T. Washington, thinking that industrial education was the best thing for the Negro, she felt that no other training would fit him for life" (Brown, ndd, p. 1). A letter written to her by Frances Guthrie, a donor to PMI, is indicative of the widespread pushback Brown encountered in designing her curriculum: "Your pupils are not like you, they have not had your upbringings…[Do not teach] more than their present natures are ready to receive" (as quoted in Denard, 1995, p. xix). H. Smith Richardson, president of the Vick Chemical Company, responded with skepticism to a program proposal of Dr. Brown: "My experience with Bennett College and A. & T. scholars has been that by the time they have spent one year at either one of these institutions they are above all hard work" (Richardson, 1920). Not all skepticism came about from racial biases. Some were dictated by circumstances of society. In a letter to Fred L. Brownlee of the AMA, W. E. B. Du Bois indicated that expanding PMI to include a junior college should be carefully considered during tumultuous times (Du Bois, 1930). The onset of the Great Depression gave many of Dr. Brown's patrons, notably the AMA, a justifiable reason for refusing expansion (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). The obstacles Dr. Brown faced from critical supporters need consideration when looking at the development of the field of arts education and acknowledgment given to overlooked voices in arts education. Dr. Brown acted as an arts educator when she pushed forward and implemented arts curriculums, despite criticism for doing so.

In the development of Palmer, Brown aimed to set an example for the wider community. In 1909, following the work of Virginia Randolph, a Virginia educator famous for her development of community self-help programs, Brown organized a local School Improvement League in Sedalia that aimed to assist individuals in the community to transform their homes and the school grounds into beautiful places (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). In a 1918 letter to Galen Stone, Brown wrote, "This school as a center of

activity can in time enlighten every rural community in the state" (Brown, 1918). She further wrote that on an individual level, she wanted PMI community members "to make their homes happy intelligent centers…to learn to appreciate a beautiful picture, a good book, as well as a field of waving corn" (Brown, 1918). While Dr. Brown aspired to introduce her students to the kinds of life, culture, and education available in New England, she still wanted to maintain the community's sense of industry, following the philosophies of both Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.

MUSIC EDUCATION

An integral part of life at Palmer Memorial Institute, music is the first documented form of arts education employed at the school. Civic minded in all she did, Dr. Brown often included the communities of Sedalia and Greensboro in her arts education initiatives. Memorial Hall, the first new building to be constructed on Palmer grounds in 1905, became a site for community, cultural, and arts events. Vina Wadelington Webb, a graduate of the 1907 class, remembered victrola concerts (Figure 20) taking place on the lawn during her years as a student (Marteena, 1977). It is likely that none of PMI's neighbors would have had access to such a luxurious instrument and that Dr. Brown would have extended invitations to the wider community to join them for these gatherings. These concerts were "one medium through which students learned to appreciate classical music," and the earliest record of arts education at PMI (Marteena, 1977, p. 38). Students at PMI not only learned to appreciate classical music, but also learned to perform.



VICTROLA CONCERT ON THE LAWN

Figure 20: Victrola Concert on the Lawn, ca. 1915, HS 87.10.50, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

In 1922, Palmer began to change from its industrial beginnings to embrace more elite academic offerings. That same year the North Carolina State Department of Instruction began to collect formal reports from principals of high schools across the state. The 1929-1930 catalog offers instruction to its two-year college students in instruments, vocals, and theory. Students have the option to learn to play either the violin or piano. During their first year, all students of piano, violin and vocals were required to also take Ear Training, a course "designed to give proficiency in sight reading and sight singing" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 21). Elementary Harmony, an optional first year course, covered "the fundamentals of music, scales, intervals, chords, and the harmonization of

melodies and simple basses according to classic rules" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 21). During the second year of the junior college, music students would take Advanced Ear Training and Advanced Harmony. Additionally, all high school students, whether on the academic, scientific, or vocational track, had the option to take music classes as a Minor subject. In regard to the kind of instruction provided, the catalog states, "The Music Department is conducted by well-trained teachers, who are prepared to give instruction in voice, piano, and orchestral instruments" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 12). Because these classes were optional and considered Minor or Special subjects, they generally required the student to pay extra fees. Voice culture or Pianoforte, both which were offered at the collegiate level and included seventy-two lessons for the year, cost an additional $36.00 in tuition fees. General music, which seems to be the course offered at the high school level as a Minor subject, cost $2.50 for thirty-two lessons. This fee included the use of an instrument for the school year (Catalog, 1929-1930).

By the late 1920s, it is evident that extracurricular activities were a large part of school life. By this time, PMI was mostly a boarding school and had acquired a strong and positive reputation across the United States, and even internationally. Students were provided opportunities to express themselves and participate in student organizations. The extracurricular music organizations were particularly strong during this period:

> Quartettes and Glee Clubs for both boys and girls are trained and give concerts in various places in the state. A group of picked singers gave a concert before one of the most critical audience in Symphony Hall, Boston, in 1928. In 1929 a series of concerts given in Boston, Worcester and New York were enthusiastically received. (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 11)

Music would continue to play an important role in life at Palmer. Figures 21 and 22 picture musical bands from 1933 and 1940-42. Similar to Dr. Brown's personal uses of the arts (drawing portraits in high school and singing in New England hotels for

fundraising) as a tool for economic betterment, Palmer students learned the more practical value of the arts. In addition to these extracurricular organizations and programs, as PMI moved from an industrial focus to one that was more academic, music appreciation and instruction in instruments and vocals would be formalized into the academic curriculum by the late 1920s.

Figure 21: Concert in Wellesley Auditorium at PMI, 1933, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Figure 22: Palmer Memorial Institute Concert Band, 1940-42, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

The Sedalia Singers

The Sedalia Singers were Palmer's most famous student group. Originally, a quartette consisting of Dr. Brown and three female teachers, the group became representative of PMI's finest musical talent. The group often sang African American spirituals. Music would become an important vehicle for Dr. Brown to advance her philosophy of religious and cultural uplift. By 1918, students would give performances in Greensboro and Boston. The *Greensboro Daily News* reported on a performance held at Greensboro Municipal Theater on January 7, 1918, "Hundreds came who could find seats. All standing room was taken and scores turned away" (as quoted in Silcox-Jarrett,

1995). Citizens contributed more than $1,000 to the singers in their effort to raise money after $7,000 suffered in damages caused by a fire in December 1917 (Marteena, 1977; Wilcox-Jarrett, 1995). It became immediately apparent that the Sedalia Singers were an important element for raising funds and providing publicity for the school. In April 1918, students performed in Boston's Jordan Hall again to raise funds for the school (Marteena, 1977; Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). Tickets cost $.50, $1.00 and $1.50, and could be purchased at Bigelow & Kenner's on Washington Street in Boston (Brown, 1918).

Throughout the 1920s, Palmer students would perform annual concerts for nearby residents. These benefit performances netted the school more than $300 annually and would help the school pay for silver dining utensils and a bus for travel (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995; Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). Located in the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Papers, 1900-1961, is a series of undated, handwritten notes about the Sedalia Singers. In the records are mention of notable performances given at Grand Theater in Greensboro in 1923 and 1924. In 1931, the group performed on a musical tour in Boston and New York (Sedalia Singers, nd). December 5, 1933, the Sedalia Singers gave their most prestigious performance when they sang for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, at the White House (Brown, 1933). For a number of students, these trips north were their first experiences outside North Carolina (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999).

Among Dr. Brown's handwritten collection of comments on the Sedalia Singers is a statement from James Weldon Johnson: "In no school that I have visited in the South have I heard the spirituals sung with greater effect than by the students of Palmer Memorial Institute. Hearing them sung by these students has been one of the thrilling experiences of my life" (Sedalia Singers, nd). A quartette and full chorus of fifty students sang in Greensboro in 1946 at the Municipal Theater, where they charged admission to raise funds for the school. Jenkins describes the group as "more enjoyable than the

average high-class professional musical event that comes to Greensboro" (c. 1946, p. Insert E. F. 27-2). Throughout the years at Palmer, the Sedalia Singers remained a constant example of the presence and success of quality music education and performance.

Figure 23: The Sedalia Singers, Palmer's famous singing group, c. 1940s, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

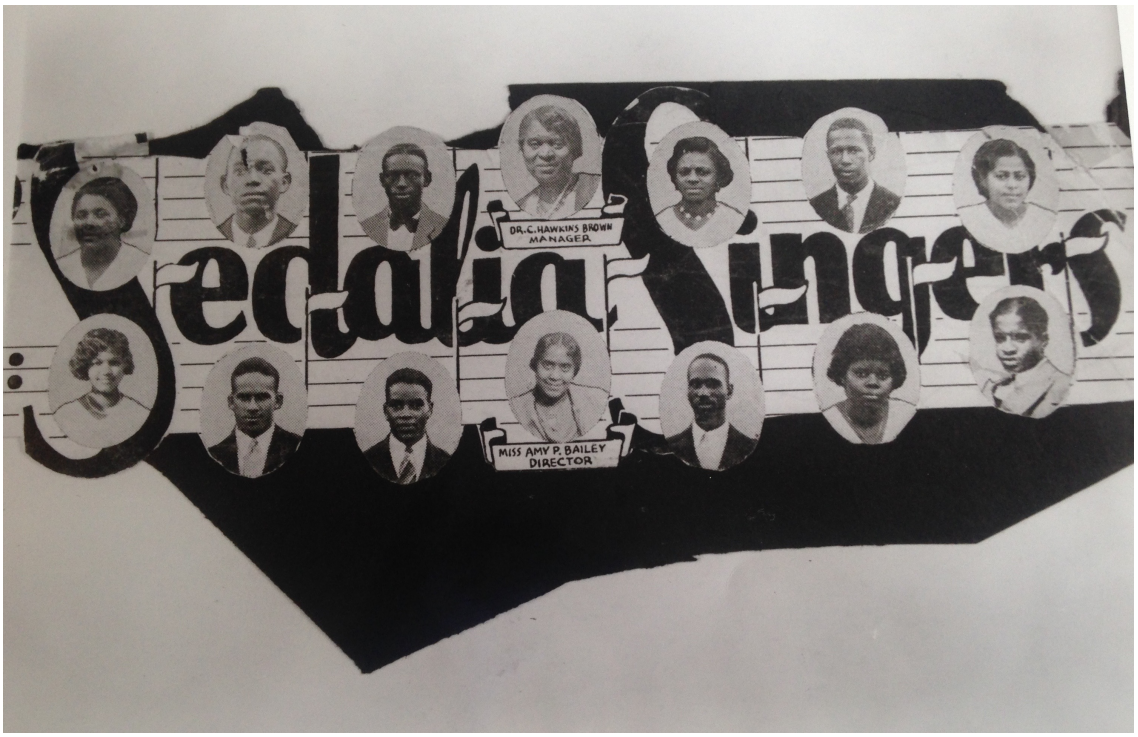


Figure 24: The Sedalia Singers, c. 1940s, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Musical Theater and Pageantry

Oddly, the minstrel show, which first appeared in 1832 and depicted racist caricatures of African American life, led to the development of Black musical theater (Woll, 1989). During the period of the minstrel show, Black actors, while being confined to representing stereotypes, receive professional training in the dramatic arts. By the time Dr. Brown was teaching at PMI, Black musical theater had greatly progressed and become a genre of cultural uplift for African Americans. Writers and performers such as Bob Cole, and brothers Jonathan Rosamond Johnson and James Weldon Johnson, had moved Black musical theater from a demeaning genre to one of artistic progressiveness and a demand for equality (Woll, 1989). Through musical theater, African Americans

could tell their own stories with realistic, respectable representations of people and situations.

1927 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Palmer Memorial Institute. To share their celebration, students put on a musical, "The Will and the Way" (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). The cast traveled to Boston to perform at Symphony Hall and the play portrayed the hardships of the school's first years (Figure 25). The set behind the students in Figure 25 is beautifully detailed with leaves on a large tree in the back ground, rooftops peaking over an American flag hanging from a brick wall that runs the length of the back ground. To the left of the wall stands the façade of a building with a rather ornate door and even a window above the door. Because the pageant was put on at Symphony Hall in Boston, it is unclear whether the students of PMI would have constructed this set. Given that industrial courses in carpentry and visual arts were present at the school, it seems possible that at least part of the set was created by students.

Dr. Brown loved being "able to celebrate their anniversary using the arts" (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995, p. 55). Dr. Brown directed the play which Hilda A. Davis wrote and Mildred Burris choreographed (Souvenir Brochure, 1928). Throughout the eight scenes, Palmer students reenacted the triumphs and struggles in the life of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, from her encounter with Alice Freeman Palmer as a young girl to current events at PMI. An undated newspaper clipping in the archives of Schlesinger Library notes, "The music department showed its strength through solos, quartet and chorus numbers, and Jonathan Brice, 16 years of age, played some difficult piano pieces" (S. M. B., nd). The pageant culminated with agricultural and domestic science demonstrations by students (S. M. B., nd). A souvenir catalog (1928) present in the archive lists the presentation of three portraits at the end of the pageant. It seems apparent from the souvenir brochure and the newspaper clipping that Dr. Brown aimed to present to the

Boston audience a glimpse of the artistic skills being developed in African American students at Palmer. In a brochure advertising the Sedalia Singers in concert and pageant, 1938, a photograph pictures students dressed in costumes and the caption reads: "Folk Dance, 'Cotton Needs Pickin'" (Figure 26). It is ambiguous whether this photograph is from the 1928 production of "The Will and the Way" or if the folk dance became a dramatic presentation to be performed in other pageants.

Figure 25: Scene 4 from "The Will and the Way," Symphony Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, 1928. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

Figure 26: Folk dance, "Cotton Needs Pickin," Palmer Memorial Institute, ca. 1928-1938. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

In the 1929-1930 catalog, Drama is listed as a Special subject available to collegiate students. During the first year of study, students learned "platform decorum, pantomime, life study, grouping, tableaux, and the production of the various types of drama" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 19). The second year covered advanced forms of the first year's subjects and additional instruction in "the technique of drama, make up and costume, lighting and color scheme, and stage management" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 19). Additionally, drama played an important role in extracurricular opportunities afforded to high school students at PMI:

> The 'Sedalia Players,' under the direction of a widely known dramatic reader, who is a graduate of the Emerson College of Expression, aids students in developing and expressing talent through the medium of drama. The 'Little Theatre' movement is a definite part of the institution's plan. (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 11)

It is evident that dramatic arts were a valued part of both PMI's formal and extra-curricular activities. The Little Theater Movement began in the early 20th century and aimed to provide small experiential theater spaces in response to the larger scale theaters that had risen in popularity.

The dramatic arts were another chance for students to integrate knowledge they had learned about various subjects. Music and oration were both developed through programs, as well as possibly, domestic arts. Figure 27 depicts a group of Palmer students in dance costumes. It seems very plausible, given that female students were required to learn dressmaking, that they would have made their own costumes for dances and dramatic performances.

Figure 27: Palmer students in dance costumes, 1936, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Among the materials I came across in the Wilson Library's special collection, a mailer from 1938 advertises a concert and pageant put on by the Sedalia Singers at the Philadelphia Academy of Music (The Sedalia Singers in concert and pageant, 1938). In addition to the spirituals performed by the Sedalia Singers and a male chorus, students performed a pageant, "I am a Negro," based on a poem by Langston Hughes. The music followed the traditions of folk songs (The Sedalia Singers in concert and pageant, 1938). Figure 28 portrays female students in dramatized poses of popular spirituals, "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" and "Nobody Knows De Trouble I See." These photographs were used in a brochure to advertise the concert and pageant performed at the Philadelphia Academy of Music. It is evident in the program, and especially in the photographs pictured in the document, that it was important for Palmer students to dress and present themselves in the best way possible. The program apparently worked to instill a sense of racial pride in the students and to show metropolitan audiences the potential of Black students and art forms.

Figure 28: Spirituals dramatized, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," and "Nobody Knows De Trouble I See," Palmer Memorial Institute, ca. 1928-1938. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

VISUAL ARTS EDUCATION

Similar to Dr. Brown's approach to music education, students at PMI were taught appreciation of visual arts forms first, and then formal art departments that would teach instruction were developed. Early on, Dr. Brown collected as many works of art as she could, hanging these pieces throughout the campus. By 1929-1930, the school catalog listed options for visual arts under Minor subjects for all high school students, regardless of their enrollment in academic, scientific, or vocational tracks. Additionally, students who remained at PMI to study at a junior collegiate level would be able to select from a variety of subjects to study in greater depth. Art was offered as both a first and second year course for this program. During the first year, students would "cover theory of color, theory of design, still life drawing and painting, freehand perspectives and drawing from the antique" (Catalog, 1929-1930, p. 19). The second year offered more advanced study in either drawing and painting or design. For students at the high school level, the Special Art classes cost $25.00 for seventy-two lessons throughout the school year. The cost for students in the collegiate department is unlisted, but it seems likely there was an additional fee for studying the subject. The 1930-1931 catalog features a photograph (Figure 29) of an art classroom at Palmer. It also mandates that all students must elect to take either visual art or dramatics during high school at no extra fee (Catalog, 1930-1931).

I first came across Figure 30 as a photograph displayed on a sign posted at the edge of PMI's grounds, to inform museum visitors about agricultural training at PMI. Intrigued by the art clearly on display in the background, I continued to research this photo. The Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum had a copy of the photograph, but it was unlabeled and the copyright belonged to Harvard University. I returned to the digital archives of the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Papers at the Schlesinger Library. By emailing

the library I found a copy of the photo through Harvard Library's Visual Information Access portal. To my delight, the photograph depicts not an agricultural fair, as I had thought, but Dr. Brown surveying a still life selection of giant vegetables used by art students in PMI's art classroom. Figures 29 and 30 are the only two photos of an art classroom at PMI that I came across in my research, but both offer evidence that the visual arts were an important part of PMI's programing, at the very least, during the 1930s.

Figure 29: Students in art class at Palmer Memorial Institute, c. 1930, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Figure 30: Charlotte Hawkins Brown standing behind a table with still life for use by art students, Palmer Memorial Institute art classroom, c. 1933. Image courtesy of Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

Figure 31: Lois Mailou Jones, nd, Suite Five Productions, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Lois Mailou Jones

Part of Dr. Brown's role as an arts educator was recruiting talented faculty. Lois Mailou Jones, a well-educated young cosmopolitan artist, arrived at PMI in 1928 and there began her long career as an art educator. After hearing Dr. Brown speak, and then meeting her in Boston, Jones offered her services as an art teacher at Palmer. Jones had

already received education in the arts, specifically in drawing, from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where she had drawn pictures based on 19th century sculptures on display in a daily after high school program (Otfinoski, 2011; Russell, 1998). Jones had also already had an apprenticeship with Ripley Studios, where she had created masks and discovered what would be a lifelong interest in Africa. Because the needs at Palmer were great, Jones took on many responsibilities beyond teaching art. In her interview with Charles H. Rowell, Jones commented on her time at PMI:

> On learning that I was quite athletic and had played on the basketball team in Boston, Charlotte Hawkins Brown made me coach of the basketball team at Palmer. Then she learned that I could play the piano, so on Sundays she had me playing the piano for the Sunday School, and she also had me teaching folk dancing. She had not only brought me there to build an art department: she had made me the jack-of-all-trades. It was a challenge, but it was fascinating. (Rowell, 1989)

It is evident that Dr. Brown was extremely resourceful even in her use of staff, their skills and their time, and that Jones was heavily involved in the Palmer community.

After the arrival of Lois Mailou Jones, "Special Art" is listed for the first time as a school subject in the Principal's Annual High School Report that was submitted to the Department of Public Instruction for the state of North Carolina in 1929 and again in 1930. The Department of Public Instruction began to collect these reports in 1922. It is also significant that during the 1928-29 academic year, PMI reported taking fifth place in a national art contest (Department of Public Instruction, 1929). It appears from the reports that when Jones initiated the art program, classes met five times a week for sixty minutes each. Three boys and seven girls were reported as making up the original class (Department of Public Instruction, 1929). In the 1929-30 academic year, the course appears to have been immensely popular, having a high rate of attendance with twenty-nine boys and eighty-one girls (Department of Public Instruction, 1930). Possibly to

accommodate such high numbers, art was only offered twice a week and the classes met for forty-five minutes rather than one hour. The rise in presence of arts subjects in the 1929-1930 school year was likely the result of the added college preparatory program, in which students displaying aptitude could enroll in more intensive courses in a variety of arts subjects.

Lois Mailou Jones was a natural art educator, and went beyond merely offering instruction in drawing, painting, watercolors and design. In her interview with Rowell, Jones commented on her art department:

> I built up an excellent art department. One of the things I did was to invite James Vernon Herring (he was the founder of the Department of Art at Howard University) to come down to give an art lecture to my students. It so happened, just as he arrived, I had put up a very excellent exhibition of the students' work, and when he came into the studio area and saw the exhibit, he came over to me and said, "We need you at Howard, and I want you there in September." (Rowell, 1989)

In addition to providing students with arts instruction, Jones curated exhibitions of student work and coordinated to bring James Vernon Herring, a notable figure in the field of art education, to Palmer as a guest lecturer. In 1930, after Herring negotiated with Dr. Brown, Jones moved to Washington, DC to teach in the art department at Howard University. She would remain there for forty-seven years, teaching many students who would rise to fame. In this time Jones became an internationally acclaimed painter herself (Jones, nd; Otfinoski, 2011).

Jones was not only an educator during her time in Sedalia, she also maintained her own arts practice, completing at least four notable paintings during this period: *Sedalia, North Carolina* (1929), *Negro Youth* (1929; Figure 32), *Negro Shack 1* (1930), and *Brother Brown* (1931; Figure 33). In Jones's work one can see clear interest in her surroundings and her students. In *Brother Brown* (1931), a red brick building that would

have been part of PMI's campus is depicted behind the figure, Brother Brown. Her acclaimed charcoal drawing, *Negro Youth* (1929), depicted a student at PMI. Upon her submission of the portrait to the 1930 Harmon Foundation exhibition, she received a prize of Honorable Mention. Founded in 1922 by William E. Harmon, The Harmon Foundation aimed to support and promote the work of African American artists. Jones' award from the foundation is believed to have marked her formal debut into the art world.

Figure 32: Negro Youth, Lois Mailou Jones, 1929. Image courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

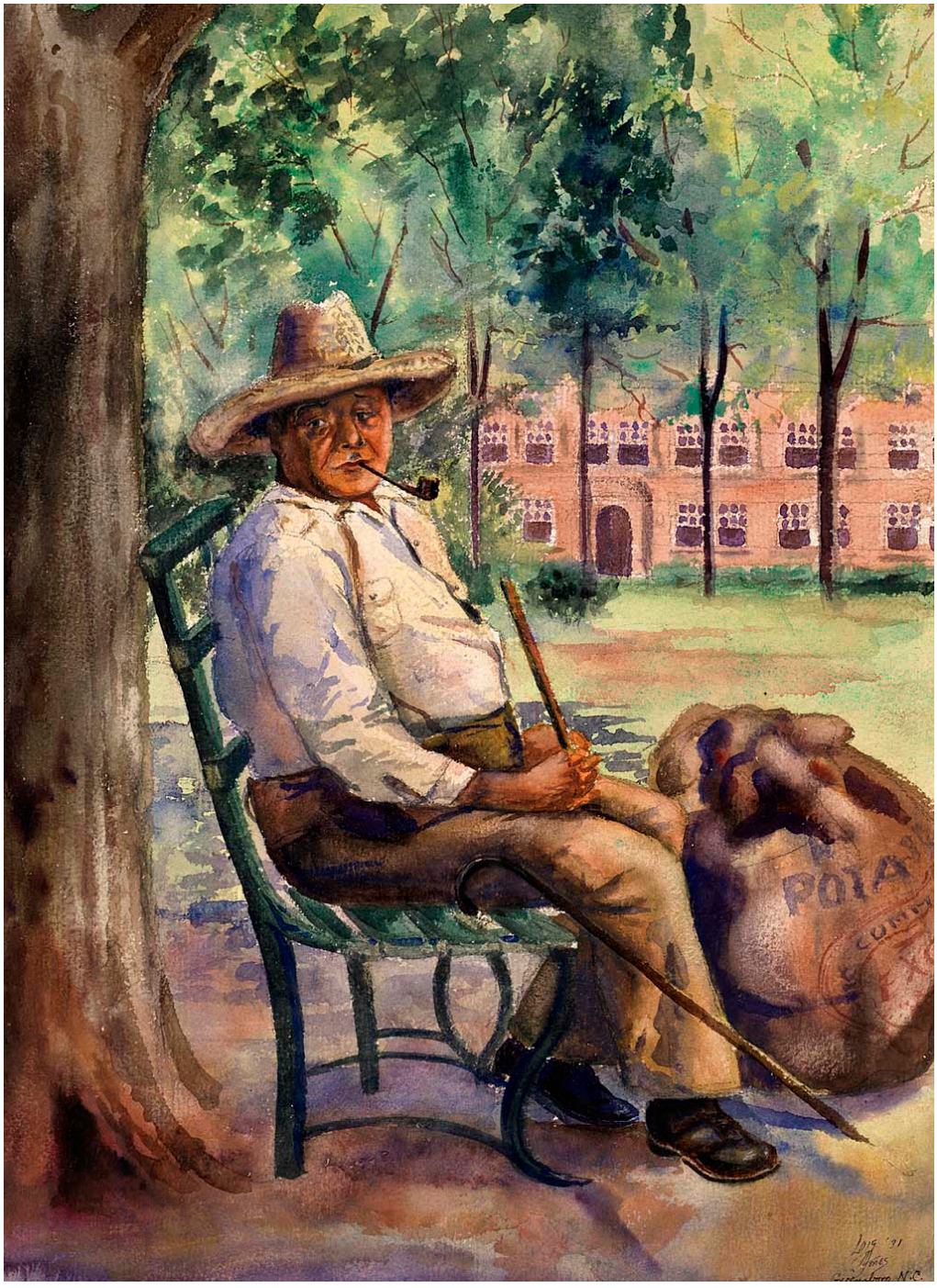


Figure 33: Brother Brown, Lois Mailou Jones, 1931. Image courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

Field Trips

Like any skilled educator, Dr. Brown realized that not all learning takes place in classrooms. While she worked tirelessly to create a safe, nurturing, upstanding environment in Sedalia and at Palmer, she wanted her students to experience the best that society has to offer. Thus, field trips were a routine experience for Palmer students. Often, these trips were to nearby Greensboro, but students also traveled out of state to Boston, New York, and Washington, DC. Dr. Brown would spare no expense to ensure that her students had equal access to anyone in society:

> She now recently astonished all of New England by carrying overland in a bus twenty-three of her students and teachers for a concert and pageant in Symphony Hall, the largest and most expensive concert hall in Boston. A $4,000 audience, the elite of both races, rubbed shoulders and applauded long and loud the successful artistic effort made possible through the genius of this organizer. (Saunders, 1930, p. 3)

It seems likely that for the time, traveling with twenty-three students to a place as far from North Carolina as Boston and acquiring seats in the swankiest concert hall in the city is an accomplishment for any school president, and especially for one of a rural African American school. By this time, Dr. Brown had firmly established her own reputation and that of the school.

Student Achievements in the Arts

As a testament to Charlotte Hawkins Brown's role as an arts educator, a number of students from Palmer Memorial Institute sought further study in the arts at prestigious universities and some even went on to make significant contributions to their fields. Jenkins (c. 1946) acknowledged, "Some of them [students of the Sedalia Singers] have either made or are under contract to make records for one of the foremost phonograph producers" (Jenkins, c. 1946, p. E.F. 27-2).

Marteena (1977) provides information about the achievements of Palmer alumni in the epilogue of her narrative, *The Lengthening Shadow of a Woman*. Dr. John Dewey Hawkins, cousin of Dr. Brown, graduated from Palmer's high school program in 1925. In addition to his long career as a dentist, Dr. Hawkins "compiled two Negro-spiritual songbooks" (Marteena, 1977, p. 109). Dr. Brown's cousin, Carol Brice Carey, who came to live at PMI at the age of eighteen months, graduated from Juilliard School of Music with a diploma in voice and obtained her graduate degree (Marteena, 1977). She went on to perform in many musical productions, including the *Hot Mikado* at the New York World's Fair, Truman Capote's *Grass Harp* on Broadway, and a visit to Vienna, Austria to sing *Show Boat* and *Porgy and Bess* (Marteena, 1977). Carol's brothers, Jonathan and Eugene Brice, were both musicians. John was an accompanist and Eugene was one of the first Black singers to become part of the Metropolitan Opera Chorus (Marteena, 1977). All three Brice children received their elementary and high school education at PMI.

Kate Bulls Lafayette, graduate of PMI's 1953 class, became a leader in early childhood education (Marteena, 1977). She worked for a number of early childhood programs, significantly, as the first Executive Director for the KLH Child Development Center, a refrigerator warehouse-factory turned day care center, in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Abramson, 1970). Subsidized by the U.S. Children's Bureau, the program aimed to provide quality early childhood care to the children of employees of the KLH Research and Development Corporation (Abramson, 1970; Marteena, 1977). In a report on significant early childhood institutions compiled by Abramson (1970), it was noted that color, space dividers, and lighting were carefully considered in order to make the factory into an appealing, child-centered place.

Mike Evans attended PMI from 1967 to 1969. In 1971 he joined the cast of *All in the Family* as popular character Lionel Jefferson, and in 1975 returned to the role in *The*

Jeffersons (Associated Press, 2006; Marteena, 1977). Evans also created and wrote for *Good Times*, which first aired as a radio broadcast and then became one of the first sitcoms to be made up of a primarily Black cast (Associated Press, 2006; Marteena, 1977).

PMI alumnae careers included: teacher, librarian, dentist, farmer, funeral service owner, vocalist, dancer, artist, lawyer and city council member, doctor, writer and professor, actor, journalist, and various departments of government. It is evident from the presence of artist, vocalist, dancer, and actor on this list, that PMI successfully provided a quality foundational education in the arts.

Figure 34: Wilhelmina Crosson, c. 1950s, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

WILHELMINA CROSSON AND ARTS EDUCATION IN THE 1960S

Wilhelmina Crosson (Figure 34) became Dr. Brown's right-hand woman when she moved to Sedalia and joined PMI's staff. When Dr. Brown stepped down as president of the institute in 1951, Crosson filled the vacant position. Under Wilhelmina Crosson's leadership, by 1958 64% of PMI graduates went on to pursue undergraduate degrees and 83% continued on to obtain either graduate or professional degrees (Marteena, 1977). Figure 35 depicts a group of students from Yearbook club in 1953. Crosson expanded PMI's arts programming to include summer sessions sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the U.S. government.

Palmer took on more projects sponsored by the United States government under Crosson's guidance. One of the more notable projects was a summer program that served as a pilot for what would become Upward Bound. The program aimed to help economically deprived but talented high school students develop scholastic skills in a variety of academic subjects, including visual arts and music (Marteena, 1977). The program ran during the summers of 1964 and 1965 for eight weeks each year and served 120 students.

Crosson also expanded PMI to include more international audiences and opportunities. A European Seminars program involved travel to England, France, Spain and Italy for eight-week periods in the summers. Parents paid all student expenses (Marteena, 1977). Another international endeavor offered African students scholarships to study at PMI. All students who traveled domestically or abroad contributed to the education of all students in the Palmer community by giving reports of their experiences upon their return to campus (Marteena, 1977).

Figure 35: Yearbook Club, 1953, HS 92.5.28, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN'S PERSONAL LIFE

Charlotte Hawkins Brown was not one to stay put in one place. While her base was always in Sedalia at PMI, she was a frequent traveler and sought out artistic experiences during her trips. She frequently traveled to New York, Boston, and Washington, DC for fundraising and personal visits. Dr. Brown would frequently invite contacts she made on her travels back to Palmer in what was likely an effort to both promote awareness of the school and expose PMI students to a wider culture. During the 1920s, the Harlem Renaissance reached its pinnacle. Langston Hughes and James Weldon Johnson, among other Harlem Renaissance artists, visited the school on several occasions at Dr. Brown's invitation (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown published her first book, *Mammy: An Appeal to the Heart of the South*, in 1919, after longtime supporter Galen Stone recommended that she find more Southern donors for PMI. The novella is an appeal to White southerners who did not see African Americans as equals and who did not support their education (Denard, 1995). Through her imaginative fiction, Dr. Brown told the story of an aging Black female servant in order to emphasize the debt owed to Black people for their service during slavery. Dr. Brown deftly wrote from the viewpoint of a Black slave woman and criticized the system of slavery without insulting her readers. After the book's publication, four southerners joined PMI's Board of Trustees in 1920 and support from southern donors continued to increase throughout the years (Denard, 1995).

From singing in the original Sedalia Singers quartette, to playing piano, to composing spiritual hymns, Dr. Brown developed a variety of musical aptitudes (Saunders, 1930). In December 1916, Dr. Brown and three other women from Palmer attended a gathering at George Herbert Palmer's home in Massachusetts and performed for the other guests. The music delivered by the quartette was also utilized as a tool to encourage guests to take an active role in listening to their story of the development of PMI (Jenkins, c. 1946). The women sang mostly spirituals. Notably, Dr. Brown "published one or more sacred songs use by men like Rodeheaver of Billy Sunday Fame" (Saunders, 1930, p. 3). Homer A. Rodeheaver (1880-1955), an evangelist, composer and music producer, was a pioneer in recording American sacred music. He also directed music for the campaigns of popular evangelical preacher, Billy Sunday (1862-1935).

Figure 36: Charlotte Hawkins Brown with her grandniece Carole "Cookie" Cole, 1947, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Figure 37: Charlotte Hawkins Brown with grandnieces in Canary Cottage, 1947, by Griffith Davis, Image courtesy of Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.

Over the course of life at PMI, Dr. Brown developed her ideals for artful living and methods of instruction. Students would meet in small groups with a teacher to discuss maintenance of good habits and manners. Her points for fine living were developed into a 1940 speech, "The Negro and the Social Graces," which she delivered through a broadcast of the radio program "the Wings over Jordan." The speech was so well received that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation of Atlanta asked Dr. Brown to produce a leaflet related to it. In April 1940, she began a series of articles titled,

"The Correct Thing," in order to inform parents across the country about PMI's program and how to educate their children in the finer manners and customs of society (Marteena, 1977). These articles inspired her book, *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say, and to Wear*, which was published in hardcover in 1941. In her introduction to the book, Dr. Brown asserts that fine manners are an art that should be practiced so extensively that they become natural. The book won the Mark Twain Society Book award in 1944 and was used in schools and social clubs across the country (Denard, 1995). Dr. Brown's ideologies were society-centered, and both books seem to have been written for social reasons rather than cultivating a writing career.

ARTS AND ACTIVISM

Dr. Brown's role as an arts educator was not confined to her position at Palmer or to her role in supporting family members. Having lectured in forty-seven states and Washington, DC, Dr. Brown was an active speaker. She was a regular guest lecturer on interracial subjects at Mount Holyoke, Smith College, and the Schools of Education at Wellesley and Radcliffe colleges (Marteena, 1977). The theme that the purpose of education is "to teach one to live completely" permeates her school publications as well as her public speeches to a wide variety of audiences (Brown, nde, p. 3). Arts education is ingrained in all education in which culture is an aim. In a number of these speeches, Dr. Brown references the potential of the arts for racial uplift and as an integral part of fine living. In her 1929 speech "The Quest for Culture," which she delivered to the Volkamenia Club, a literary organization in Durham, North Carolina, Dr. Brown asked her audience a series of questions: "Does the average intelligent Negro enjoy art? What kind of pictures do they select for their home? Do they take time to learn about the pictures?" (pp. 4-5). In this speech, Brown addresses reasons that African Americans

should pursue education in the arts. It appears Dr. Brown believed that the arts are found wherever experience and culture are highlighted as essential to education.

Advocating appreciation as well as practice, Dr. Brown advises, "Copies of masterpieces may be purchased from two pennies up to two hundred dollars and more. But do we take the time as educated people to find out something about these pictures, something of their content and meaning, why they are called masterpieces" (Brown, 1929, p. 5). Formal training is not a prerequisite for a general education in the arts. One's education begins with exposure, which leads to appreciation, which can then lead to developing a practical skill. Not only those with special aptitude should have general knowledge of music and arts, and that as a race, African Americans should aspire for greatness in the arts: "Our quest shall not end until we possess the land of the beautiful in music, in literature and art—yea, emphatically, the art of living with one's fellows in the finest and best way" (Brown, 1929, p. 6). Her emphasis on both the practical values that dominated industrial education and the belief that an education in the arts should foster an appreciation for the beauty and harmony of life fit well within the framework of influential values for arts education in the late 19th century as laid out by Wygant (1993).

It seems that engaging in artistic roles such as cultivating an aesthetic environment is as important as becoming an accomplished artist. In an undated speech titled, "What to Teach to Negro Americans," and delivered to the Kentucky Negro Education Association, Dr. Brown lays out five points for the education of African American youth and highlights areas where more focus is needed. African American community, she says, "needs higher scholastic achievement in the sciences and art" (Brown, nde, p. 6). She adds that only pointing to one famous figure in each subject will grow boring. The community needs many artists and musicians, scientists and philosophers to help elevate all pupils in areas of culture and service. These ideas of

"self-culture" or cultivating a sense of fine living follow trends that influenced arts education in American schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Wygant, 1993). People began to embrace the idea that individuals could teach themselves how to act within society. These are also ideals that Charlotte learned early on in life from her grandmother and mother.

While sifting through the microfilm records related to the life and activities of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, I was struck by the particular story of her ability to artfully teach everyday skills in order to uplift students. In Bell's (1944) article, "Charlotte Hawkins Brown—Pride of New England," published in the pilot issue of *Spotlighter* magazine, Dr. Brown is credited with "dedicating her life to the establishment of 'Living as a fine art'" and being "a powerful leader" in the field of education (pp. 18-19). In the early 1900s, Dr. Brown could not teach the "fine" visual arts of painting and sculpture because of constraints, both financial and social. Her students were financially poor, their lives were a struggle for survival, and Brown taught them how to live artfully. Throughout the development of Palmer it is shown that as the lives of the students became increasingly stable, Brown was able to pursue more advanced arts education opportunities.

The Josephine Baker Incident

Dr. Brown did not confine herself to PMI or even to North Carolina. She was a frequent traveler to Boston and New York with and without students. In 1927, she toured Europe for the second time, visiting France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Switzerland (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). In Paris, she attended a performance by Josephine Baker. Upon her return to the United States, she offered commentary about this event on at least one occasion. *The Afro American* reported on a speech Dr. Brown delivered at a Co-

operative Women's Civic League in Baltimore, Maryland, in which she criticized Baker's performance. The newspaper reported that Dr. Brown had "dropped her head in shame upon attendance at a Parisian theatre, where, against a background of twenty-five white women, all of whom wore some kind of draping, Josephine Baker danced in 'her birthday clothes'" (1938). By editorial commentary of the speech, Dr. Brown's words sparked some discussion of Josephine Baker's dancing and its impact on social equality. Lillian Johnson responded to the speech in her column, "A Woman Talks," advising Dr. Brown that many readers thought positively of Baker and her performances. Johnson praised Baker's intelligence and courage to rise above her social background and achieve fame and fortune. Johnson's critique sparked a response from Dr. Brown:

> I did say that her body was an object of beauty perfectly formed, but I felt that her nude appearance against the other women made her the rage, and had she been a white woman of the same form and beauty she might not have appeared so attractive to the other group. (Brown, 1938)

While this episode is not directly tied to arts education, it serves to support Dr. Brown's view of arts as a form of racial uplift. Her critique of Josephine Baker had nothing to do with Baker's skill as a dancer or even the kind of dancing she did. Rather, Dr. Brown felt that by a lone Black woman dancing nude in front of a line of twenty-five clothed White women, the style was perpetuating a fetish of women of color by White men. Thus, Dr. Brown likely believed that rather than uplifting the African American race, Baker's nudity and the chorus line's clothing were a step backwards for social and racial equality.

The Arts and Racial Uplift

Throughout her lengthy career and studies, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown developed firm ideologies regarding social, economic and cultural uplift for African Americans. In her early career, she openly accepted the industrial values put forth by

Booker T. Washington. However, in search of a better way of life and more opportunities for African Americans to attain fine living standards, her ideas shifted to align more with the beliefs of W. E. B. Du Bois. This is especially the case in regard to art, where her ideals seem to closely resemble values put forth by James Weldon Johnson and Alain LeRoy Locke. Johnson created musical theater that depicted realistic and uplifting scenes of African American life that combatted stereotypes. Often, there was an emphasis placed on interracial cooperation between people of color. Locke also advocated for the arts as uplift. He desired that African Americans develop authentic art forms that did not perpetuate racial and social stereotypes. In discussing the subtle and overt forms of racism Dr. Brown encountered in her life and career, as well as the other influential African American arts and education thinkers of the time period, it became clear some of the social forces that worked to resist change to arts education and inclusion of African Americans as arts educators. Dr. Brown's message of the arts as uplift echoes ideas put forth by James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke and others who felt that the arts were well-suited as a form of racial uplift. Her achievements likely helped accelerate changes in considering African Americans as capable of achieving artistic success.

CONCLUSION

Evidenced in this chapter, Charlotte Hawkins Brown made a number of contributions as an arts educator. Her arts education practices at the Palmer Memorial Institute were directly and indirectly tied to her purposes for general education: (a) to acquire knowledge of one's own environment and the capabilities to adjust as needed to society, (b) to develop practical skills that can be applied to everyday problems, (c) to develop self-control and a respect for the rights of fellow humans, (d) to understand (for Black youth in particular) "that wrapped up in their souls is cumulative power of reserve

that has never been called into action…that someday will beat through chains of race and caste, [and] break open the gates of opportunity" (Brown, nde, p. 5). In providing opportunities for exposure to and appreciation of the arts, Dr. Brown hoped for students to better understand their social and cultural environments. By providing instruction in art forms such as playing an instrument, drawing or painting, she wanted students to acquire both practical and fine skills that would fit them for everyday life. Through participating in and directing art forms such as pageants and spirituals about uplift, she aimed for students to understand the power they carried within themselves for racial and cultural betterment and overcoming obstacles. Dr. Brown was a radical thinker who drew on the philosophies of great thinkers such as Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and James Weldon Johnson in order to develop her own educational practices that would empower generations of students.

In the concluding chapter, I suggest a historical reframing of art educators and art education that is expanded to include Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. As I reflect upon the progression of this research project, I examine the outcomes and implications of this research endeavor, especially its relevance to the current state of art education. Because this study was in no way comprehensive, I also recommend possible avenues for future research.

Chapter 6: *Conclusion*

In this study, I have examined the arts education practices of Charlotte Hawkins Brown, an overlooked arts educator. By conducting this research, I aimed to facilitate my own learning of a particular historical arts education narrative of which I previously had no knowledge. Additionally, this research responded to a call by other researchers (Acuff, Hirak, & Nangah, 2012; Bolin, Blandy, & Congdon, 2000; Bolin & Kantawala, 2017; Congdon, Blandy, and Bolin, 2001) to acknowledge and celebrate voices in the field of arts education who until now have received little to no attention. In *Revitalizing History* (2017), Bolin and Kantawala assert that until recently, "Research on the struggles and triumphs of African American art educators in the United States has been nearly non-existent" (p. 204). It is important to recognize and celebrate the many historical narratives that have been ignored in order to invigorate our field in the present. It is important that our records of the history of art education better represent voices from all populations who have helped develop the field and not simply those stories that are most easy to access. For this reason, we must engage in historical investigation.

This study required research of a range of arts subjects, historical methods and narratives, and consideration of many different kinds of documents and texts. In Chapter 2, I presented a review of a wide variety of literature that was needed in order to better understand Dr. Brown, the Palmer Memorial Institute, and the contexts in which they existed. Areas I investigated included primary and secondary texts directly related to the life of Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute; the history and historiography of art education; researching history, especially local histories; African Americans in art, Black studies in education, and African American women educators; and, overlooked voices in art education. In Chapter 3, I provided a brief

biography of Dr. Brown and an overview of the development of the Palmer Memorial Institute in the early years of the 20th century. My search began with a book found by happenstance in the library, was conducted extensively through digital archives of the Charlotte Hawkins Brown papers in the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in American, and included visits to the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site in Sedalia, North Carolina, and archives at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. In Chapter 4, I examined ways the arts were used as educational tools at PMI and Dr. Brown's methods of and purposes for arts education. As Williams remembered Dr. Brown, "She was faced with the almost overwhelming task of creating a new and different concept of education, in an age where only one concept was admissible" (Williams, nd, p. 2). This new concept of education involved inclusion of the arts into curriculum for African American students, a belief she put into practice at PMI and preached to numerous audiences throughout her lifetime. The study concludes with my assertion that Dr. Brown's accomplishments, both at PMI and in the field of activism, warrant consideration of her as an arts educator.

Within the scope of this study, I sought answers to several questions pertaining to the ways Charlotte Hawkins Brown might be considered as an art educator. Regarding the Palmer Memorial Institute, I aimed to investigate how arts education was implemented into both formal and informal curriculums and the role Dr. Brown played in these developments. I also aimed to examine the struggles Dr. Brown faced in providing arts education to her students in the South during the time of Jim Crow.

OUTCOMES OF THIS STUDY

Grounding my study in historical research methodologies, I set out on my investigation. In my research I began to better understand how conventional history has,

as Parenti (1999) argues, presented a "dominant perspective of the affluent and influential people who preside over the major institutions of society" (p. xi). Even within my own research, it was confined to the life and career of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, who while African American and a woman during a period of history when both groups experienced discrimination, also gained national attention, fame, and substantial support in her business efforts. This thesis presents the ways Dr. Brown may be considered as an arts educator and contemplates the effects of the obstacles she encountered from opposition and supporters in attempting to provide arts education to African American students. Dr. Brown was a complex individual who was well qualified for navigating the difficult terrain of interracial relations in the field of education during the first half of the 20th century.

Using historical research to conduct this inquiry, I uncovered many answers to my initial research questions. Among these, I found that Charlotte Hawkins Brown directly and indirectly served as an arts educator at the Palmer Memorial Institute and that she had been an advocate for arts education in her civic life. She had also been an art educator to many family members whom she took into her private home. She gave piano lessons to family members as well as students. At Palmer, she arranged for professional artists to visit and perform at the school, and for young Palmer artists to perform in prestigious concert halls in Greensboro, Boston, New York, and Washington, DC. By taking students on educational field trips to art museums and musical performances, she acted as an art educator. In her civic life, Dr. Brown provided guidance for teaching the arts to African American students. She also offered critiques of what might not be culturally uplifting art forms for African Americans.

Regarding PMI, I analyzed the development of arts education programming and Dr. Brown's role in its progress. The wide variety of arts education forms that developed

under her vision makes Dr. Brown's contributions to the field of art education clear and direct. I analyzed school catalogs and programs, personal correspondence, published biographies and unpublished manuscripts. Throughout these documents, which span from 1901 to the present, there was a consistent presence of arts education practices and beliefs in the life of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. There seems to be a clear link between the arts education Dr. Brown received in her early experiences with her mother and grandmother and at school in Cambridge, and with the presence of arts education at PMI. The offering of arts education at Palmer usually encompassed a focus on the practical development of skills, an appreciation for the beauty in life, and a sense that people could lift themselves socially and culturally above their present circumstances. As evidenced by this investigation, Dr. Brown believed in the power of art to help individuals and groups of people to achieve higher standards of living and engaging as a community.

IMPLICATIONS

There are a number of implications that can be drawn from this study. Primarily, this study brought to light the acknowledgement of a previously unrecognized arts educator, Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Dr. Brown's place in history has mostly been considered along side other African American women educators such as Mary McLeod Bethune and Nannie Helen Burroughs. While she and these women made significant accomplishments in the field of education, Dr. Brown's achievements in providing and advocating for arts education has previously gone unexamined until this study.

By conducting this investigation, I hope to have shed light on the life of an African American female arts educator that will lead to uncovering and examining other overlooked arts educators. In a letter to Sadie Williams, Vivian Carter Mason, a social activist and clubwoman, recalled, "Charlotte Hawkins Brown was one of the first women

whom I heard about who had left her home, friends and familiar surroundings to plunge into a strange and hostile community and there lay the foundation for one of our most outstanding education institutions in this country" (nd, p. 1). Through this study, it is my hope to highlight the obstacles faced by some art educators to provide quality arts education to students. In doing this, it is also my desire to expand our knowledge of the kinds of contributions that have been made historically to the field of arts education. This thesis aims to contribute to a broadening cultural context that testifies to the fact that successful women and African American art educators were not exceptions or anomalies, but emerged from a wide group of practitioners who have been fundamental to shaping American arts education practices. Excavations into the lives and achievements of more African American and other overlooked artists and educators are still needed.

Through analysis of the many documents present in the archives at Schlesinger Library, Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the rich quality and variety of arts present at PMI over the years is evident. Beyond an examination of traditional archival sources, this study demonstrates the many avenues open for investigating the history of art education through archival photographs.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Quinn, Ploof, and Hochtritt (2012) assert, "Teaching for social justice is 'always more possibility than accomplishment'" (p. xx). In keeping with this belief, this thesis offers more possibilities for further research into overlooked areas of art education than achievements. Within this study, I uncovered some of the ways Charlotte Hawkins Brown may be considered an arts educator. In reflection, there are a number of directions this study could take or related topics that could be uncovered and explored in the future. Further investigations in this area would help to develop a clearer and more inclusive

history of the field of arts education. As it stands now, many individuals and groups have gone ignored, unnoticed and, sometimes, purposefully excluded from record in the field. There are many more stories that need to be told in order to help remember these forgotten and omitted histories. Not acknowledging their presence in the field limits our understanding of the development of arts education in America.

Regarding Charlotte Hawkins Brown, most of her art collection is a mystery. Further research into uncovering what pieces made up her outstanding collection of original works and reproductions could prove valuable. What were these works? Where are the collection's pieces today? Where were they displayed in the school? In conducting my research, I was able to visit the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum and State Historic Site and the libraries at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Their holdings are extensive, yet there are likely more documents and resources to explore. Further research of known correspondents of Dr. Brown's or former PMI students could possibly lead to further discoveries regarding what kinds of art were present in the school, community, and curriculum. The archives at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro may provide some additional materials. This could be another location to further investigate the archives.

In many ways, this thesis was an introductory investigation into the arts at Palmer Memorial Institute. Because of time constraints and the broad scope of this study, my research into the specific genres of arts offered at PMI leaves much more to be uncovered in future, more focused, studies. Likely, there is much more to understand in regard to school and extracurricular programming of domestic and industrial arts, musical theater and pageantry, visual arts, etc. In Chapter 5, I focused some discussion on the accomplishments of Palmer students in the arts. It seems likely that there are other students who engaged with the arts that are currently unknown. Further, many students

who attended Palmer are still living today and interviews with some of these individuals may be an avenue for future research.

Retrieving and analyzing the contents of Dr. Brown's extensive art collection, which was only briefly introduced and discussed in this thesis would I believe provide rich insights into an aspect of art education history In Chapter 3, I considered the implications of the photograph of the *Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment Memorial* hanging above the mantel in Dr. Brown's living room. In his (1999) book, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, Savage identifies only three monuments dedicated to the military service of African American men in the 19th century United States. Only in the *Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment Memorial* are the soldiers dressed in full military regalia and "represent[ed]…as distinct individuals" (p. 199). The uniqueness of this relief statue, which was erected in the Boston Commons during Charlotte's high school years, was likely not lost on Dr. Brown. This work offers insight into Dr. Brown's philosophy of education for African American youth as well as the subliminal messages she wanted to pass onto White visitors to her home. Investigation into the social and personal impact of the artworks from Dr. Brown's collection has the potential to inform present-day researchers about the ideologies present in the hidden curriculum at Palmer Memorial Institute.

As an arts educator, I would be interested in advancing this research via more creative processes. The story of Charlotte Hawkins Brown is a compelling one and would be suited for readers of all ages. There is a current trend of educational and beautifully illustrated children's books that highlight the lives and creative accomplishments of significant individuals, especially people of color. Caldecott Honor book, *Dave the Potter: Artist, Poet, Slave* (2010), by Hill and Collier, tells, for young readers, the story

of an extraordinary artist and poet who lived in South Carolina in the 1800s. The story of Horace Pippin comes alive for young audiences in Bryant and Sweet's (2013) *A Splash of Red: The Life and Art of Horace Pippin*. Wilcox-Jarrett told the story of Dr. Brown from the point of view of an educator in her (1996) fictional paperback, *Charlotte Hawkins Brown: One Woman's Dream*. The book features photographs of Dr. Brown and PMI, but lacks creative illustrations. If I were to continue this research, I would consider how to disseminate the story of Dr. Brown to wider audiences in a more creative, engaging, and easily accessible format.

CONCLUSION

To conclude this thesis, it seems right to offer some words from Charlotte Hawkins Brown:

> In the Galerie des Beaux Arts in Paris there stands a famous statue. It was the last work of a great genius who, like many a genius, was very poor and lived in a garrett which served as a studio and sleeping room alike. When the statue was all but finished, one midnight a sudden frost fell upon Paris. The sculptor lay awake in the fireless room and thought of the still moist clay of the statue, thought how the water would freeze in the pores and destroy in an hour the dream of his life. So the old man rose from his couch and heaped the bed clothes reverently around his work. In the morning when the neighbors entered the room, the sculptor was dead. But the statue lived. (Brown, 1929, p. 6)

Brown saw herself as a living statue created by God. Through the records of her actions it is easy to see her as also a sculptor, who carefully crafted her own great masterpiece, the Palmer Memorial Institute. This educational hub served as safe place for African American students to receive a unique and quality education that would prepare them to enter society and participate as knowledgeable and active citizens. As evidenced in this thesis, the arts were a substantial aspect of the education provided at PMI to both students and the wider community. Historically, Charlotte Hawkins Brown has been recognized for her contributions to education and civil rights. In this thesis, she is now acknowledged

as an arts educator who made specific and meaningful contributions to the field of arts education.

Appendix

A Timeline of the Life and Achievements of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown

1883 – Lottie Hawkins is born to Carrie Hawkins in Henderson, North Carolina.

1888 – Lottie and 19 members of the Hawkins family moves to Cambridge, MA.

1897 – The *Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment Memorial* is erected in Boston Commons (Booker T. Washington speaks at the monument's dedication); Charlotte hears Booker T. Washington speak at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Boston.

1899 – Lottie meets Alice Freeman Palmer.

1900 – Lottie changes her name to Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins, graduates from high school, begins courses at Salem Normal School (now Salem Teacher's College).

1901 – Charlotte Hawkins moves to Sedalia, North Carolina to teach at Bethany Institute run by the AMA.

1902 – Charlotte finishes her teaching certificate in the summer; Bethany Institute closes; Alice Freeman Palmer dies; Charlotte travels throughout New England to raise funds, and opens Palmer Memorial Institute on October 10.

1904 – Memorial Hall, PMI's first classroom building, is erected.

1905 – PMI graduates its first class.

1907 – Charlotte completes the formal charter for PMI.

1908 – Construction begins on PMI's second classroom building, the Domestic Science Building.

1909 – With the help of Virginia Randolph, Charlotte introduces the School Improvement League to the Sedalia community.

1910 – Charlotte meets Edward Brown in Boston.

1911 – At age 28, Charlotte marries Edward Brown.

1912 – Edward Brown moves to South Carolina.

1915 – PMI graduates 500 students. Galen Stone initiates financial support for PMI.

1916 – Charlotte and Edward divorce. The original Sedalia Singers perform at George Herbert Palmer's residence in Boston.

1917 – A fire destroys the industrial and commissary buildings at PMI.

1918 – The Sedalia Singers give a performance in Greensboro to raise money to rebuild after the fire of 1917.

1919 – Brown publishes *Mammy: An Appeal to the Heart of the South*.

1922 – With construction cost netting $150,000, the first brick building, Alice Freeman Palmer Building, is completed. Brown appeals to the AMA for financial support, PMI earns accreditation through grade 11, and the first accredited class graduates.

1923 – Brown marries for a second time. The union is short-lived.

1924 – A fire destroys Grew Hall, the girls' dormitory.

1926 – The AMA takes over PMI; death of Galen Stone.

1927 – Charlotte takes her first trip to Europe with friend, Ola Glover.

1928 – Brown receives her B.A. from Wellesley College; Lois Mailou Jones implements PMI's first formal visual arts department; PMI students perform the pageant, "The Will and the Way," at Symphony Hall in Boston.

1930 – PMI is branded as a finishing school for African Americans; 95% of the Sedalia community owns their own land.

1931 – The Sedalia Singers perform a musical tour of Boston and New York.

1932 – PMI opens a junior college department against the AMA's wishes.

1933 – The Sedalia Singers perform at the White House at the request of President and Mrs. Roosevelt.

1934 – First junior college class graduates; AMA withdraws funding; Brown starts an urban farming project at PMI.

1935-1937 – Brown serves as president of the North Carolina Teacher's Association and the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs.

1937 – Lincoln University of Pennsylvania awards Brown an honorary L.L.D.; Guilford County opens its first public school for African American students.

1938 – Death of Carrie Hawkins and Ola Glover; Wilberforce University of Xenia, Ohio awards Dr. Brown an honorary L.L.D.; the Sedalia Singers and PMI students perform a pageant, "I am a Negro" at the Philadelphia Academy of Music.

1939 – The junior college closes due to insufficient funding.

1940 – Dr. Brown delivers speech during the Wings Over Jordan radio program.

1941 – Dr. Brown publishes *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say, to Wear*.

1944 – Howard University awards Dr. Brown an honorary Ph.D.

1950 – A fire destroys Galen Stone Hall, the girls' dormitory.

1952 – Dr. Brown retires as president of PMI; Wilhelmina Crosson takes over; Dr. Brown helps found the *Negro Braille Magazine*.

1956 – Dr. Brown establishes a college scholarship for female students.

1961 – Death of Charlotte Hawkins Brown.

1964-1965 – Funded by the U.S. government, the Upward Bound summer program is initiated at PMI. The pilot program serves 120 PMI students.

1966 – Wilhelmina Crosson resigns as president and is replaced by Harold E. Bragg.

1970 – Bragg appeals for financial assistance from the Greensboro community and resigns later that year; Charles W. Bundridge becomes the fourth and final president of PMI.

1971 – A fire destroys the Alice Freeman Palmer Building. Palmer Memorial Institute closes.

1987 – PMI's grounds reopen as the first North Carolina Historical Site to recognize the state's African American past.

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